

Do Doctors Make Too Much Money? Not at This Hospital. A Look at Health Care That Works

Joe Klein on How Obama Can Earn His Nobel

Review: The Dark Delight of *Where the Wild Things Are*

# TIME

Special Report

## The State Of the American Woman

A new poll shows why they are more powerful—but less happy



IMAGINE THIS BLISTERING RASH ALONG WITH STABBING PAIN



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WHAT IT CAN BE LIKE TO HAVE SHINGLES.



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## IF YOU HAD CHICKENPOX AS A CHILD, YOU COULD GET SHINGLES NOW.

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It can resurface as Shingles, a painful, blistering rash. The Shingles rash usually lasts up to 30 days, and for most the pain lessens as the rash heals. But some people who develop Shingles experience long-term pain that can last for months, even years.

### ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that can help prevent Shingles.

ZOSTAVAX is used to prevent Shingles in adults 60 years of age or older. Once you reach age 60, the sooner you get vaccinated, the better your chances of protecting yourself from Shingles. ZOSTAVAX is given as a single shot. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat Shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow Shingles, once you have it. Talk to your health care professional to see if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

### Important Safety Information

ZOSTAVAX may not fully protect everyone who gets the vaccine. You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you are allergic to any of its ingredients, including gelatin and neomycin, have a weakened immune system, take high doses of steroids, or are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Possible side effects include redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising at the injection site, as well as headache. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088. Before getting vaccinated, talk to your health care professional about situations you may need to avoid after getting ZOSTAVAX. Please see the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

Before you get **Shingles**, ask about ZOSTAVAX.

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9815608

You should read this summary of information about ZOSTAVAX<sup>1</sup> before you are vaccinated. If you have any questions about ZOSTAVAX after reading this leaflet, you should ask your health care provider. This information does not take the place of talking about ZOSTAVAX with your doctor, nurse, or other health care provider. Only your health care provider can decide if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

**What is ZOSTAVAX and how does it work?**

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 60 years of age or older to prevent shingles (also known as zoster).

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus (varicella-zoster virus).

ZOSTAVAX works by helping your immune system protect you from getting shingles. If you do get shingles even though you have been vaccinated, ZOSTAVAX may help prevent the nerve pain that can follow shingles in some people.

ZOSTAVAX may not protect everyone who gets the vaccine. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat shingles once you have it.

**What do I need to know about shingles and the virus that causes it?**

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. Once you have had chickenpox, the virus can stay in your nervous system for many years. For reasons that are not fully understood, the virus may become active again and give you shingles. Age and problems with the immune system may increase your chances of getting shingles.

Shingles is a rash that is usually on one side of the body. The rash begins as a cluster of small red spots that often blister. The rash can be painful. Shingles rashes usually last up to 30 days and, for most people, the pain associated with the rash lessens as it heals.

**Who should not get ZOSTAVAX?**  
You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you:

- are allergic to any of its ingredients.
- are allergic to gelatin or neomycin.
- have a weakened immune system (for example, an immune deficiency, leukemia, lymphoma, or HIV/AIDS).
- take high doses of steroids by injection or by mouth.
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Children should not get ZOSTAVAX.

**How is ZOSTAVAX given?**

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single dose by injection under the skin.

**What should I tell my health care provider before I get ZOSTAVAX?**

You should tell your health care provider if you:

- have or have had any medical problems.
- take any medicines, including nonprescription medicines, and dietary supplements.
- have any allergies, including allergies to neomycin or gelatin.
- had an allergic reaction to another vaccine.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding.

Tell your health care provider if you expect to be in close contact (including household contact) with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care provider can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

**What are the possible side effects of ZOSTAVAX?**

The most common side effects that people in the clinical studies reported after receiving the vaccine include:

- redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising where the shot was given.
- headache.

The following additional side effects have been reported in general use with ZOSTAVAX:

- allergic reactions, which may be serious and may include difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, call your doctor right away.

- fever
- hives at the injection site
- joint pain
- muscle pain
- rash
- rash at the injection site
- swollen glands near the injection site (that may last a few days to a few weeks)

Tell your health care provider if you have any new or unusual symptoms after you receive ZOSTAVAX.

**What are the ingredients of ZOSTAVAX?**

Active Ingredient: a weakened form of the varicella-zoster virus.

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, hydrolyzed porcine gelatin, sodium chloride, monosodium L-glutamate, sodium phosphate dibasic, potassium phosphate monobasic, potassium chloride.

**What else should I know about ZOSTAVAX?**

Vaccinees and their health care providers are encouraged to call (800) 986-8999 to report any exposure to ZOSTAVAX during pregnancy.

This leaflet summarizes important information about ZOSTAVAX.

If you would like more information, talk to your health care provider or visit the website at [www.ZOSTAVAX.com](http://www.ZOSTAVAX.com) or call 1-800-622-4477.

**Rx only**

Issued April 2009

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To Our Readers

**The American Woman.** With women poised to dominate the workforce, TIME's special report examines their status—and what they still need

IN ONE VERY REAL SENSE, OUR TIME/Rockefeller Foundation poll shows that women have become dominant in our society. Women will soon constitute a majority of the workforce; they earn 57% of college degrees; they make 75% of buying decisions in the home. At the same time, the poll found that women are not terribly concerned with equality issues, nor are they patting themselves on the back for their pre-eminence—they are simply dealing with the often bewildering changes and uncertainty in our economy as breadwinners, spouses, mothers and daughters. It's not the anachronistic battle of the sexes anymore but how we all—women and men—grapple with a new economy and new era. I suppose you could say that's true equality.

While our story looks to the future, it also harks back to the special women's issue we did in 1972, in which we explored—excuse the phrase—the New Woman. (That phrase was more than 100 years old at the time.) As Nancy Gibbs notes in her smart story—which is accompanied by an extensive, graphic look at the poll—there were no female Supreme Court Justices or Cabinet members or network anchors in 1972. Part of our package revisits some of the women we profiled back then, including one who worked for years as a welder and is now the only female crane operator at the Kennedy Space Center. NBC *Nightly News* will be featuring a profile of these women, and video pieces will appear on TIME.com.

Our special report is also a collaboration with Maria Shriver, who has overseen a wide-ranging study called *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Changes Everything* along with the Center for American Progress, and who will also be revealing some exclusive findings from our poll on *Meet the Press* on Oct. 18. Maria, the First Lady of California and



A portrait titled *Francesca*, 1972, by Ralph Gibson, who photographed this week's cover

an irresistible force in her own right, also oversees California's annual Women's Conference, one of the nation's premier forums for women to come together to discuss vital issues. Held on Oct. 26-27, this year's conference will have about 25,000 attendees. "Our goal," she says, "is to empower women to see themselves as architects of change in their own lives, in their communities, in the world."

Our beautiful cover image was commissioned by our new director of photography, Kira Pollack, who enlisted the fine-art photographer Ralph Gibson, whose elegant and timeless portraits of women have been widely exhibited in international collections.

A few weeks ago, we ran a different

special report, on national service. Now the Entertainment Industry Foundation (EIF) has organized an unprecedented week of programming, beginning Oct. 19 on NBC, ABC, CBS, Fox and other networks, that will spotlight service. You won't be able to miss it. This is part of EIF's new iParticipate campaign, designed to usher in a new era of volunteerism. Go to the campaign's site—[iparticipate.org](http://iparticipate.org)—to find volunteer opportunities near you.



**Taking stock**  
From top: TIME's 1972 look at "the New Woman"; Shriver, who spearheaded the new study; and Gibbs, author of this week's special report



*Pick*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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An energy game developed by  
The Economist Group.



**The Economist Group**

# 10 Questions. The 30 Rock star discusses comedy and his new memoir, *I Am the New Black*. Tracy Morgan will now take your questions

How much does your 30 Rock character, Tracy Jordan, resemble Tracy Morgan?

Azeem Khan, KARACHI

Tracy Jordan is a lovable comedian. So is Tracy Morgan, I guess. Tracy Morgan doesn't exist in Tracy Jordan. Tracy Jordan exists in Tracy Morgan. Everything they write about my character is ripped right out of the headlines. If I sneeze, next week it's in the script. So that's cool, man. I'm a 40-year-old black man. I'm from Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn. What do the young white writers know about me? I have to give 'em the ammo.

Are there any parts of Tracy Morgan that you wish were more like Tracy Jordan?

Alice Rodgers, BELFAST

Yes. I wish Tracy Morgan had \$300 million. That's about it.

How does being on 30 Rock compare with being on *Saturday Night Live*?

Declan Murphy, MANASSAS, VA. *Saturday Night Live* is the hardest thing I ever did in my career. Period. If you can survive *Saturday Night Live*, then you're good as far as show business is concerned. My ex-wife, she was considered a widow because I was never home. You had one day off, and that was Sunday.

What are the cast members of 30 Rock like to work with?

Alex Murfey, KANSAS CITY, MO. I don't know what they do when they're at home. Tina—she's a mother and a wife. We don't hang out. But at 30 Rock, everybody pretty much gets along. Jack McBrayer, we're very close, and it was an honor to be nominated [for an Emmy] in the same category with



him. If he would've won, that means we would've won. If I would've won, that means I would've won. I'm not sharing my award with nobody.

How did Tina Fey react when you called her a bitch on national television?

Dean Head, SASKATCHEWAN It made for great television, and everybody knows unless you live on Mars that Tina Fey, she's my sister from another mother with a different color. It was just like when I told Lorne Michaels, Get me a soda, bitch!

I once saw an episode of NBC's short-lived *The Tracy Morgan Show* on a plane. What did you think of your foray into the world of traditional sitcoms?

Pablo Torre, NEW YORK CITY

People would always ask me, Why aren't you on *Saturday Night Live*? Because everybody has to leave Daddy's house sometime. People say, I'm sorry your show didn't stay on television. Well, maybe if your ass woulda watched it! You know what I'm saying?

Why did you decide to write a memoir now?

Michele Herrmann  
MONROE, CONN.

Because they gave me a big bag of money now! And if anybody wants to read what my life was like, fine. Cool.

What's it like growing up with a girl's name?

Mark Fleming, DUBLIN

I think that's part of the reason why I'm funny, because

kids on the playground would make fun of my nose and my name. When kids are making fun of you in the schoolyard, you go get your big brother, and he comes back with you and he turns into the Incredible Hulk. But my oldest brother was born with cerebral palsy. So I had to develop a sense of humor.

How has having diabetes affected your comedy?

Ari del Rosario, MANILA

I feel fortunate to have the disease but not have it affect me. My first season on 30 Rock, I wasn't taking the disease seriously. Then one day I got really sick. The doctor was like, "Hey, listen, we may have to take your foot." That was it for me. Now I take my insulin every day. My blood sugar doesn't get over 120.

What do you think of President Obama's winning the Nobel Peace Prize?

Chukwunwikezarramu  
Okumephuna  
LONDON

I think he deserves it. I think he's really trying to stop nuclear war. I love Obama. You see how cool he is? You see the way he gets off of Air Force One? He kicks that leg just like Richard Roundtree. Ain't no other countries gonna mess with us. And as far as health care is concerned, tell them to put cocoa butter on it. Those old remedies still work! ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Tracy Morgan

and subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10Questions](http://time.com/10Questions)



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# Postcard: Washington. Outraged by Prop 8, young gay activists left their computers to march on the nation's capital. The Facebook generation opens its parents' playbook

BY JOHN CLOUD

**Global Dispatch**  
For more postcards  
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**D**EPENDING ON WHOM YOU TALK to, the Oct. 11 National Equality March drew between 100,000 and 200,000 people—estimates of crowds on the National Mall are notoriously unreliable, as anyone from Million Man Marchers to tea partiers can tell you. But one number you can take to the bank: the average age of the headset- and badge-clad event organizers was under 30. And that, by far, was the oddest thing about it. Why would a generation wired from birth to mobile phones and Facebook want to resurrect a form of political expression as fusty as a march on Washington?

The answer became clearer the more time I spent with Wayne Ting, who was born on Dec. 1, 1983, and—when he's not helping organize gay-rights events—works at a private-equity firm that he isn't quite convinced he wants to name. Like many other participants, Ting was shocked by the passage last year of Proposition 8, which ended the court-approved practice of extending equal marriage rights to gay couples in California.

"What Prop 8 did for my generation," he told me, "is that unlike past generations, we had never been through something where progress didn't seem inevitable. Suddenly some right that was given was taken back." It's a sign of how far this country has moved on gay issues that Ting and others perceived marriage not as a cause to aspire to, but as a battle that in some ways had already been won.

The *macher* behind the march was Cleve Jones, 55, a friend of assassinated gay-rights campaigner Harvey Milk's and the brains behind the AIDS quilt project. Jones, who had miscalculated on Prop 8 himself, was dejected by the outcome until a colleague suggested that the best way to ensure equal marriage rights was to demand them—Milk-style. Younger friends convinced him that a march on Washington could be organized via Face-



**Rainbow warriors** Protesters take part in the National Equality March in Washington

book easily and comparatively cheaply. Still, marches require the movement of vast numbers of people across the nation, not to mention such mundanities as hotel rooms and Porta-Pottys. The idea that Gen Y gays would go for something so old school left Establishment gay-rights activists dumbstruck. "Pointless," a seasoned campaigner told me. "If Cleve and [co-organizer] David Mixner have really inspired so many kids to work on our behalf—finally, by the way,

because I think these kids spent the early part of this decade playing Nintendo—why don't they tell them to go to [gay-marriage battleground states] Maine or Washington this weekend?"

Jones considers this a cynical view. He was there when Milk brought together thousands of young gays in pre-AIDS San Francisco to change that city's politics, and he thought that a coming together in Washington might spark the same kind of fellowship. Young gays who had connected on Facebook now wanted to meet face to face. The event would provide a way to do that and see Lady Gaga at the same time.

The march itself was a predictable far-farago of left-wing rhetoric and respectful criticism of Barack Obama. The President had pledged to end the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military—"But when?" Jones thundered from the podium. Lady Gaga drew the biggest cheers of the day when she said, "Obama, I know you're listening." After a beat, she screamed at the top of her lungs, "Are you listening?" The producers of the Broadway musical *Hair* shuttered their New York production for the weekend so that the cast could sing toward the end of the march, leading tens of thousands of people in a sweet, rousing chorus of "Let the Sunshine In."

At that moment, I remembered something Ting told me: he hadn't known that in 1993, march coordinator Mixner—a gay activist and friend of Bill Clinton's—was arrested outside the White House while protesting "Don't ask, don't tell." "A lot of us were 9 or 10 years old in 1993," he said. I wondered, in the gloaming, if today's 9- and 10-year-old gays and lesbians would remember this march—and what kind of work Ting and his friends have ahead of them to see that they do.



# Inbox



## A Soldier's Life

ADAM FERGUSON'S EXCELLENT PHOTOGRAPHY brought it all back home [Oct. 12]. Medevacs removing the wounded, sentries monitoring the perimeter, soldiers shaving with whatever was available—Vietnam all over again. Until the U.S. leadership looks at our history, we will never learn from our mistakes. I was in the eighth grade when the first Tennessee soldier was killed in Vietnam in 1962, and 10 years later I was fortunate to return from service with the 1st Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam. Let's hope the decision makers review Ferguson's work while examining the war in Afghanistan.

*Bryce Sanders, CLARKSVILLE, TENN.*

THE INTIMATE PORTRAYAL OF OUR TROOPS broke my heart. In the 1960s, Pete Seeger wrote, "Where have all the soldiers gone?" and lamented the government's choices: "When will they ever learn?" A lot has changed since Seeger wrote those words, and then again, nothing has changed.

*Tracy Leverton, VIENNA, VA.*

## Weighing a Plan in Afghanistan

IN "GIVE IT TIME," PETER BERGEN DOWNPLAYS a main requirement for nation-building: significant support from the population [Oct. 12]. He also admits that the Afghan army is still weak. After eight years, when does he expect that it will have the strength and willingness to combat the insurgents—in 10 years, or 20 years? Those

of us who served in Vietnam could readily see the same lack of willingness in the South Vietnamese as they mostly refused to put their lives on the line in their war against the North. If the government of a country of 28 million people can't muster enough support to combat 10,000 insurgents, maybe we should be considering other options.

*John Uffer, DENVER, N.J.*

## Do I Get Credit for That?

JUSTIN FOX'S "GET HOMES OFF WELFARE" is quite a stretch [Oct. 12]. Real estate values have plummeted not because of government aid but because of people making poor decisions with their money after being convinced they could buy more than they could afford. My wife and I will be putting our tax credit into improving our new home, thereby injecting that money right back into the economy. Plenty of us are responsible enough to know our limitations and make good decisions with our money. Do not take benefits away from us because of the people who are not.

*Brett Konjoian, ALLENTOWN, PA.*

I AM A HOMEOWNER AND FOUND IT STAGGERING that just the mortgage-interest and property-tax deductions amount to \$96 billion per year. The elimination of those two deductions alone would virtually pay for health-care reform. I recall the fear expressed when the removal of interest deductions for auto loans and credit

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In "The Middle Option," in which Joe Klein discusses the final White House plan for Afghanistan, Klein's prediction was miscast [Oct. 19]. It should have read that two training brigades, not one, would probably be sent to advise Afghan forces.

cards was first discussed. The bottom did not fall out of those sectors. Nor will it fall out of the housing market.

*Peter Remondino, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.*

## Justice League: Hollywood

THANKS FOR AMY SULLIVAN'S CANDID ASSESSMENT of the Roman Polanski crime [Oct. 12]. It's ironic that Hollywood is exuberant about throwing a demonstrably contrite Mel Gibson under the bus yet eager to rally around an unrepentant Polanski. Somehow the moral compass in Hollywood is dramatically askew and rigged against those who don't genuflect properly. It is striking to watch the Hollywood elite tripping over themselves to muster support and condone Polanski's transgressions.

*Stewart Quealy, TEMECULA, CALIF.*

## The Case for Health-Care Reform

CITING INSURED AMERICANS' SATISFACTION with their health-care coverage, Christopher Caldwell glosses over key facts [Oct. 12]. One, a relatively small percentage of those with coverage have ever used it for a major illness, rendering any sense of satisfaction nebulous at best. Two, if forced to buy coverage, many could not afford it. Caldwell then points to the Golden Rule as a reason the uninsured will always get treatment. All of this supports the idea of a European-style single-payer system. It is the right thing to do not only morally but also fiscally, as the cost of treating the uninsured stresses our health-care infrastructure to the breaking point.

*Anthony Noel, GREENVILLE, N.C.*

**'My appreciation of his art could never blind me to Polanski's crimes against a 13-year-old, no matter how long ago they took place.'**

*David Lloyd, SAN FRANCISCO*

**Crime and punishment** Many readers felt Roman Polanski's arrest was long overdue



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Planning for blue



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Can today's environmental thinking inspire tomorrow's technology? Toyota believes so. Since its launch, the Prius has earned the love of millions of forward-thinking drivers. We estimate our hybrid technology has saved a billion gallons of gas and lowered CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by billions of pounds.\* It's also paving the way for the next generation of environmental vehicles. Like cars charged at home. Or cars that will run solely on electricity, or consume hydrogen and emit only water. Because when it comes to thinking green, the sky's the limit.

\*Estimated savings compares each U.S. hybrid vehicle's EPA combined mpg rating with its segment average based on latest EPA Trends Report (driven 15,000 miles annually). Actual mileage will vary. ©2009



# Briefing

THE WORLD SPOTLIGHT VERBATIM HISTORY

MILESTONES



## The Moment

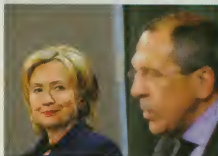
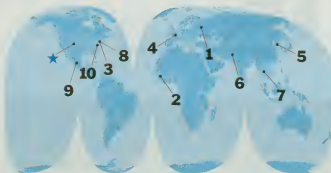
10/13/09: Washington

SOMEWHERE, THE GHOST OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON IS smiling. Senator Olympia Snowe's lone Republican vote for health-care reform in the Senate Finance

Committee didn't just advance an issue close to LBJ's heart—as President, the Texan signed Medicare into law—it was also a masterstroke in political leverage. And no one loved Senate politics more than he. Snowe's yea earned her—a member of a weakened minority, from the lovely but not very influential state of Maine—a voice in the small group hashing out the final version of the bill. In the Senate, she is just one among 100. But on probably the biggest bill of the century, she's now one of a handful cutting the deal. When the Clinton Administration attempted to pass health-care reform, Finance was its graveyard. This time, the idea survived the committee with unified Democratic support and a veneer of bipartisanship. It's a major step—but far from the final one. “My vote today is my vote today,” Snowe said. “It doesn't forecast” what she might do down the road. In politics, as LBJ knew, the power of yes is meaningless unless twinned with the menace of no. —BY DAVID VON DREHLE

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Hillary Clinton and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov during her trip to Moscow

## 1 | Moscow

### Stalling on Sanctions

While the U.S. has threatened Iran with new sanctions over its controversial nuclear program, it has yet to secure the support of its prospective ally. During an Oct. 13 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov called a fourth round of sanctions "counterproductive" and reaffirmed Moscow's commitment to continuing diplomatic talks with Tehran. Lavrov's statement came just three weeks after Russian President Dmitri Medvedev signaled an openness to sanctions. Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, meanwhile, declared that it was too early to scrap negotiations, telling reporters, "There is no need to scare the Iranians." Though the U.S. has insisted on keeping sanctions on the table, Clinton conceded that Russia is "not at that point yet."

## 2 | Guinea

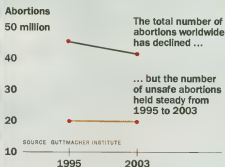
### China Makes A Deal

The Guinean government says it has signed a \$7 billion agreement with a Chinese mining company, just one month after a massacre of protesters by government troops drew international condemnation. The unnamed firm will dig for diamonds, gold and bauxite and provide Guinea with much-needed revenue as it faces the prospect of economic isolation. The deal—which could give Guinea's \$23 billion GDP a massive boost—puts China in direct competition with U.S. and Russian mining companies. China's trade interests in Africa have increased tenfold since 2001.

## 3 | New York City

### Abortions Drop Worldwide

Increased contraceptive use fueled a decline in the number of abortions performed worldwide from 1995 to 2003, according to a new report from the Guttmacher Institute, which supports abortion rights. The survey also found that abortion occurs about as often in countries where it is legal as in those that limit it. Since 1997, only three countries have tightened abortion restrictions, while 19 countries or regions have loosened them.



## 4 | Paris

### Terrorism at CERN?

A French-Algerian physicist at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) was arrested Oct. 8 after French officials discovered encoded e-mails between him and members of an al-Qaeda cell based in North Africa. Adlène Hicheur, who worked at CERN's Large Hadron Collider near Geneva, allegedly offered to help the group plan attacks in France. Initial news reports focused on Hicheur's work at the high-energy research lab, prompting speculation that al-Qaeda might be attempting to create nuclear or radioactive weapons. But a spokesman for CERN said the lab has been closed since last September and that it doesn't generate enough radioactive material to justify fears that Hicheur was trying to create a dirty bomb.

## 5 | Pyongyang

### Mixed Messages

North Korea continued its one-step-forward, one-step-back approach to diplomacy this month, encouraging and alarming nations trying to get Pyongyang to the table to discuss nuclear disarmament.



#### ENCOURAGING

An official lamented the "regrettable" release of floodwater that killed six South Koreans. Earlier, Kim Jong Il signaled willingness to resume stalled six-nation talks over his country's nuclear program.



#### DISCOURAGING

The North launched five short-range missiles on Oct. 12, its first such provocation in three months. Media reports indicate more launches may follow.



#### NO COMMENT

North Korea's first soccer games in Europe in 43 years ended in 0-0 draws against Congo and the French club Nantes. North and South Korea have both qualified for the 2010 World Cup.

Numbers:

85,694

Estimated number of Iraqis killed from 2004 to 2008, according to Baghdad's first comprehensive tally since the war began

1 IN 4

Proportion of people around the world who are Muslim, according to a Pew report



## 6 | Pakistan

**REIGN OF TERROR** At least 100 people have been killed in a series of attacks by suspected Taliban militants, including a blast in Peshawar (above) that left 50 dead and the suicide-bombing of a military convoy near the Swat Valley in which 41 perished. But it was the Oct. 10 assault on the heavily guarded army headquarters in Rawalpindi that left Pakistanis shaken. Militants occupied the building—the equivalent of the U.S. Pentagon—for 22 hours before commandos freed 39 hostages, capturing one perpetrator and killing nine others. Analysts called the attack “unprecedented.”

## 7 | Thailand

### HIV Vaccine: A False Positive?

Closer scrutiny of last month's report of the first successfully tested AIDS vaccine suggests scientists spoke too soon. Analysis of a subset of data found that the vaccine's benefit may not be statistically significant; odds of being protected from infection could be no better than chance. Critics say the study's authors should have waited to publicize the results until after other scientists had vetted them.

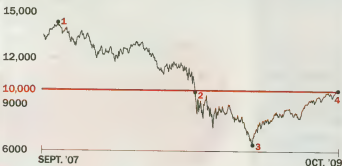
## 8 | New York City

### Wall Street's Bulls Keep Charging

Stocks continued their seven-month rally, lifting the Dow Jones industrial average above 10,000 points for the first time since last October. The symbolic milestone followed better-than-expected September retail sales and once troubled banking giant JPMorgan Chase's report that it earned \$3.6 billion in the third quarter. Optimists considered the news an omen of improved economic conditions despite stubbornly high unemployment.

The Dow's road to recovery

|  |   |   |                                     |
|--|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 OCT. 9, 2007<br>Dow closes at an all-time high of 14,164 | 2 OCT. 6, 2008<br>First close below 10,000 since 2004 | 3 MARCH 9, 2009<br>Bottoms out at a 12-year low of 6547 | 4 OCT. 14, 2009<br>Closes at 10,015 |
|--|---|---|-------------------------------------|



Protests in Mexico City: the closure affected 44,000 workers and 25 million customers

## 9 | Mexico

### Power Dispute Electrifies

Mexico's government shuttered power company Luz y Fuerza del Centro, which serves more than a fifth of the country, over what it says were massive inefficiencies at the state-run utility. Workers in Mexico City protested on Oct. 12, arguing that officials should have negotiated with the company to address the issues and save jobs.

## 10 | Washington

### Enlistment Rises in Recession

Soaring unemployment rates and heftier signing bonuses helped the U.S. military meet all its annual recruiting goals for the first time since it became an all-volunteer force in 1973. The quality of recruits also improved: 95% of Army soldiers have a high school diploma, up from 83% in 2008, and fewer felons and overweight applicants enlisted.

### ★ | What They're Cutting in Colorado:

The Centennial State says it will reduce its hourly minimum wage by 4¢ next year, to \$7.24, becoming the first to lower its rate since the U.S. passed a minimum-wage law in 1938. Officials say a 2006 amendment to Colorado's constitution—in which voters opted to tie minimum wage to inflation—forces them to cut the rate because the state's consumer price index fell this summer.

**\$19,670**

Home-maintenance costs claimed as expenses by British Prime Minister Gordon Brown that he has agreed to pay back

**\$150**

Winning bid by a Chinese machinery company for GM's Hummer brand—China's first major entry into the U.S. auto market

# Spotlight

## Bank Failures



### Account closed

A shuttered drive-through window at a bank in Colorado

**E**VEN AS THE DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE returns to the 10,000 mark, the financial crisis is alive and kicking in the banking business. In the next week or so, the U.S. will reach a somber milestone: 100 banks down the drain in 2009. It will be the first time since 1992 that 100 banks have failed in a single year and only the 11th time it's happened since the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was formed back in 1933.

The worst is far from over. The FDIC says 476 banks are at risk of failure, up from 117 a year ago. Soured commercial real estate loans alone may generate a fresh \$600 billion in losses by 2013. Veteran bank analyst Gerard Cassidy of RBC Capital Markets expects as many as 1,000 lenders to go bust in total.

Despite those numbers, the banking system is no longer at risk of collapse. Megabank JPMorgan Chase, for instance, announced on Oct. 14 it earned \$3.6 billion in the third quarter. Most of the institutions in danger are small. But those failures are straining the FDIC, which underwrites the nation's saving and lending by

insuring deposits. When a bank fails, the FDIC makes up the difference between what's left and what's owed depositors, up to \$250,000 per person per bank. Two years ago, the FDIC had about \$52 billion in its deposit-insurance fund. Today that fund is technically broke. The agency has money reserved to cover anticipated failures but no cash remaining for unforeseen blow-ups. It has asked banks to prepay three years' worth of premiums and could seek emergency funds from the U.S. Treasury.

The run on FDIC funds is raising questions about how well the agency has contained the costs of the credit crisis. Bank failures are not of the FDIC's making: the Federal Reserve failed to rein in mortgage-lending, while regulatory agencies like the Office of Thrift Supervision allowed banks to make loans without adequate capital. But the FDIC has the final say on when and how to close a bank, and some

believe it has been waiting too long to act, adding to the cost of failures. Regulators labeled Chicago-based Corus Bank critically undercapitalized in

March, but it took the FDIC until mid-September to shut it down—a closure that could cost the FDIC \$1.7 billion.

Delays are happening in part because a recession is not a great time to buy a bank, and the FDIC is having trouble finding acquirers for troubled institutions. The FDIC could liquidate a failed bank or run it itself, as it did late last year with IndyMac. But those options tend to be even costlier. Meanwhile, “bad banks are more like fish than wine,” says Bert Ely, a bank-industry consultant and an FDIC critic. “They get smellier with age.” —BY STEPHEN GANDEL

## 1,000

U.S. banks that could go under as a result of the credit crisis

### OVERDRAWN

The financial crisis drained the FDIC's once flush bank-rescue fund in just 18 months

|           |                                |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Sept. '07 | \$51.8 billion                 |
| Dec. '07  | 52.4                           |
| March '08 | 52.8                           |
| June '08  | 45.2                           |
| Sept. '08 | 34.6                           |
| Dec. '08  | 17.3                           |
| March '09 | 13.0                           |
| June '09  | 10.4                           |
| Sept. '09 | FDIC says its account is empty |

### BANK FAILURES

Move over, peaches and pizza. Georgia and Illinois lead the nation in lenders that have gone bust





# Verbatim

**'I was just trying to eat lunch.'**

**ZACHARY CHRISTIE**, a 6-year-old cub scout from Newark, Del., who was given a 45-day suspension for violating a zero-tolerance weapons ban by bringing to school a camping utensil equipped with a spoon, fork and knife. After a slew of protests, the suspension was rescinded on Oct. 14

**'To work out how to operate a television set, you practically have to make love to the thing.'**

**PRINCE PHILIP**, the 88-year-old British royal, complaining about the difficulty of using modern remote controls

**'Black people, of all people, should not oppose equality.'**

**JULIAN BOND**, chairman of the NAACP, during an Oct. 11 speech in which he urged African Americans to support the right of gays to wed. A recent Pew Research Center poll found that two-thirds of black Protestants oppose same-sex marriage

**'Whatever I say, whatever I do, I will be criticized.'**

**JEAN SARKOZY**, the 23-year-old son of the French President, answering accusations of nepotism over his bid to head the agency that oversees a major Parisian business district. More than 58,000 people have signed an online petition opposing his candidacy

**'Nobody wants to see a round woman.'**

**KARL LAGERFELD**, clothing designer, after *Brigitte*, one of Germany's top-selling women's magazines, barred professional models from its pages in favor of "real women"

**'I wouldn't play for Rush Limbaugh. My principles are greater, and I can't be bought.'**

**BART SCOTT**, a New York Jets linebacker, after learning that conservative radio host Limbaugh, a former ESPN football analyst, was part of a group attempting to purchase the St. Louis Rams

**'She is a stunning example of the cartoon form.'**

**JAMES JELLINEK**, editorial director of *Playboy*, on the decision to feature Marge Simpson on the magazine's November cover. The character will be *Playboy*'s first cartoon cover girl



## BACK & FORTH

### Media

**'We're going to treat them the way we would treat an opponent.'**

**ANITA DUNN**, a White House official, referring to the Fox News network, which she dubbed "the communications arm of the Republican Party"

**'It's astounding the White House cannot distinguish between news and opinion programming.'**

**MICHAEL CLEMENTE**, a Fox News executive, blasting Dunn for failing to differentiate between the network's commentators and its reporters

### Burials

**'I think she will be more calm than anywhere else if she could rest next to her mother.'**

**SALI BERISHA**, Albania's Prime Minister, calling on India's government to send Mother Teresa's remains to the country where she was born

**'Every Indian thinks of her as their property, and the Missionaries are very attached to the body. There is no reason for her to be taken from them.'**

**ROBIN GOMES**, a Salesian priest who ministers to the nuns of the Missionaries of Charity, the India-based organization that Mother Teresa founded in 1950

## LEXICON

**Vendification n.**—The process by which New York City street-food vendors are becoming more upscale

**USAGE:** "In a city accustomed to gentrification, perhaps this new phenomenon could be described as **vendification**, with more expensive, higher-tech carts and trucks sweeping in and shaking up the culinary terrain."

—*BlackBook*, Sept. 25, 2009



# Brief History

## The Nobel Peace Prize



**A**FTER ALFRED NOBEL'S DEATH IN 1896, HIS EXECUTORS discovered that the inventor of dynamite had secretly set aside about 35 million Swedish kronor (about \$225 million today) for the creation of five annual prizes to honor those who bestowed the "greatest benefit on mankind" in science, literature and diplomacy. On Oct. 9, President Barack Obama won the most coveted and controversial of them all: the Nobel Peace Prize.

The recipient, which Nobel instructed should be the person who has performed the "best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses," is determined by a five-member committee appointed by Norway's Parliament. Nominations are solicited from an undisclosed number of contributors—past winners, prominent institutions—and the winner is decided by a simple majority vote.

Reaction to the committee's choice has often been anything but peaceful. In 1973, Henry Kissinger and North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho shared the award for negotiating a cease-fire that ended U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War—despite Kissinger's role in the secret bombing of Cambodia. (Tho rejected his award, the only person to do so, saying there was no peace in his country.) One Nobel Committee member resigned in protest over Yasser Arafat's 1994 win, calling the Palestinian leader a "terrorist." Even Joseph Stalin was nominated twice for his efforts to end World War II (he did not win).

Much has been made of Obama's seemingly premature win and the committee's vague reasoning (he promoted "international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples"). Unfortunately, those seeking answers are out of luck: Nobel documents are sealed for 50 years. —BY CLAIRE SUDDATH

**Laureates Clockwise from left, Roosevelt, Maathai, Arafat, Gandhi, Kissinger, von Ossietzky, Carter**

### PAST PEACEMAKERS

#### Teddy Roosevelt

**1906** May have been chosen in an attempt to gain U.S. favor

#### Carl von Ossietzky

**1935** Hitler, angered by the pacifist's win, barred Germans from accepting future Nobels

#### Mohandas Gandhi

**1948** Nominated several times but never won; the year he was assassinated, no award was given to honor "the missing laureate"

#### Jimmy Carter

**2002** The former President's humanitarian work aside, the Nobel Committee chair called his win a "criticism" of the Bush Administration's war on terrorism

#### Wangari Maathai

**2004** The Kenyan environmentalist said HIV was created by Western scientists to kill Africans (she later retracted the comment)

### THE SKIMMER



#### Searching for Whitopia: An Improbable Journey to the Heart of White America

By Rich Benjamin  
Hyperion; 354 pages

IT SOUNDS LIKE A RECIPE for a riot: an inquisitive black writer journeying into some of the most segregated neighborhoods in the country. But Benjamin, a journalist with a Ph.D. in literature from Stanford, pulls off his quest with good cheer. He is invited into the homes and churches of what he calls "Whitopias": melanin-deficient exurbs and towns that have grown in at least 6% since 2000, as whites have fled more ethnically diverse areas. "They are creating communal pods that cannily preserve a white-bread world," he observes, "a throwback to an imagined past with 'authentic' 1950s values." Like Sacha Baron Cohen, Benjamin can lull people into saying the most appalling things, as with a new friend who tells him, "I never know what to call you. So when I'm around my buddies, I just use the N-word." The author's conclusion: while explicit racism is no longer acceptable, segregation is on the upswing. Racial refugees won't be able to outrun reality, says the author; by 2042, whites will no longer be the majority in the U.S. But in Whitopia they've found a place to hide. —BY ANDREA SACHS

READ

SKIM

TOSS



# Milestones



## Ben Ali

WHEN I FIRST MET BEN ALI, neither one of us knew we were going to become famous. It was 1958, and he had just opened Ben's Chili Bowl in Washington, where he sold hot dogs, burgers and half-smokes. I didn't know what he put in those sausages, but I knew they were good. Back

then there were quite a few black-owned restaurants, but Ben, who died Oct. 7 at 82, knew how to make his customers feel comfortable. During the riots in 1968, there were only two places in Washington that didn't get touched: the Lincoln Theatre and Ben's, right next door.

Since then, every time I visited D.C.—even after I started going to tuxedo galas and \$200-a-plate dinners—I'd go get three half-smokes with mustard and raw onions, thank you very much. One day, my driver returned with the same amount of money I had given him. He told me Ben and his wife Virginia (below) had refused to let him pay. They told him, "Bill Cosby eats for free." I tried again the next time I was in town, but Virginia recognized my order and again

refused to take my money. After Barack Obama visited earlier this year, a sign went up: BILL COSBY AND PRESIDENT OBAMA ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO EAT HERE FOR FREE. I joked with Ben that Obama hadn't earned the right. Soon after the President's visit, Ben added to the sign: BUT HE PAID.

The last time I saw Ben was at a celebration of the 50th anniversary of his restaurant. Celebrities and politicians were there, along with people of all backgrounds. Regardless of race, creed or culture, Ben made everyone feel at home. His sons and daughter, who now run the family business, do too. For Ben, that was the key word: family. —BY BILL COSBY

*Cosby proposed to his wife at Ben's Chili Bowl and held a press conference at the restaurant in 1985 after his sitcom hit No. 1*



## Lou Albano

"I'M A LEGEND IN MY OWN mind," Captain Lou Albano said in a 2007 interview. But he was also indelible in the minds of others. As the put-upon father in Cyndi Lauper's iconic music video for "Girls Just Want to Have Fun," Albano, who died Oct. 14 at 76, lingers in the memory of anyone who lived through the 1980s.

A wrestler and manager for the World Wrestling Federation (WWF), Albano had an outside personality that helped lead the sport to cultural prominence. Blustery and manic, he wore rubber bands as earrings—as well as hair ties on his epic gray goatee—and was forever hitching up his too baggy pants. This unforgettable

appearance made him a perfect point man for a WWF marketing venture dubbed the Rock 'n' Wrestling Connection, a cross-promotion in which Albano popped up in several Lauper music videos, while the pink-haired singer in turn graced numerous WWF broadcasts. The effort is credited with propelling the WWF (now the WWE) to widespread popularity.

In the latter part of the '80s, Albano assumed his biggest nonwrestling role, as one-half of the titular duo on the animated and live-action Saturday-morning cartoon *The Super Mario Bros. Super Show!* But even when he no longer had his trademark beard, it was impossible to mistake him for anyone else. He was, as he regularly quipped, "Often imitated, never duplicated."

—BY GILBERT CRUZ

## Richard Sonnenfeldt

When it came time to pick an interpreter for the Nazi war-crimes trials at Nuremberg, the prosecution settled on a man who barely escaped the Holocaust. As a child, Richard Sonnenfeldt fled Nazi Germany for boarding school in England, where, because of his nationality, he was declared an "enemy alien" and deported. On his way to an internment camp in Australia, he survived an attack by a German U-boat and was later abandoned in India when British officials realized he was Jewish. After being drafted into the U.S. Army in 1943, Sonnenfeldt, who died Oct. 9 at 86, fought in the Battle of the Bulge and helped liberate the Dachau concentration camp. In 1945 the native German speaker became the U.S.

military's chief interpreter at the Nuremberg trials—a post in which he interrogated several of Adolf Hitler's most sadistic henchmen, including Hermann Göring and Rudolf Hess. After the trials ended, Sonnenfeldt almost never discussed them. It wasn't until 2002, after his grandchildren began asking him about World War II, that he decided to travel back to Germany to talk to schoolchildren about his remarkable story.

—BY M.J. STEPHEY





Justin

Fox

## Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to [time.com/curiouscapitalist](http://time.com/curiouscapitalist)

## From Macro to Freako. With economists under fire, maybe it's time for them to return to what they do best: the little stuff

FOUR YEARS AGO, ECONOMIST STEVEN Levitt and journalist Stephen Dubner produced a sensation. Their book, *Freakonomics*, described how Levitt and a few other scholars used the techniques of economics to examine quirky topics and controversial ones. There was a chapter on cheating among sumo wrestlers, another on the profitability of drug-dealing, yet another on the possible link between liberalized abortion laws and falling crime rates—and much more (the subtitle was *A Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything*).

The book was a surprise mega best seller, with more than 4 million copies now in print worldwide. Levitt and Dubner became sought-after speakers and much-linked-to bloggers. They had made economics seem unexpectedly ... fun. "CSI: Economics," one observer called it.

For the past couple of years, though, economics hasn't been fun. It's been scary. The quirky topics in which Levitt specializes have been pushed aside by the big questions of how to halt a financial crisis and fix an ailing global economy. Macroeconomics has overwhelmed microeconomics. Not that the macroeconomists have exactly covered themselves with glory. Queen Elizabeth II wondered aloud late last year how economists had missed the problems that brought on the financial crisis. This September, economist Paul Krugman lamented "the profession's blindness to the very possibility of catastrophic failures in a market economy," unleashing

**Freakonomics made economics seem unexpectedly ... fun. For the past couple of years, though, economics hasn't been fun. It's been scary**

ing a bitter debate over what the heck economics is good for.

Now Levitt and Dubner are about to land in the middle of this maelstrom with a new book, *Superfreakonomics*. It's very good—jauntier and more assured than their first. But is the world ready for freakonomics again? Or, to put it another way, can the freakonomists restore our shaken faith in economics?



Levitt likes his timing, since he sees macro as something of a dead end. "The problems of the macroeconomy are just so hard and the degree of complexity so immense that it's almost hopeless to think that we would have really good models of those systems," he says, chatting at his house a few blocks from the University of Chicago, where he teaches. (A video of the interview is at [time.com/levitt](http://time.com/levitt).) Aside from the complexity, there's a crucial data limitation. "We have one macroeconomy," Levitt explains. "We get to watch the world unfold once." That means we have no way of knowing for sure whether the bank bailouts, to name one topical example, helped the economy or hurt it.

So Levitt has spent his career looking for narrow subjects that lend themselves to empirical testing. His standard line is that he's not smart enough for macro. But

he's been smart enough to avoid it—and to win, in 2003, the John Bates Clark Medal, an award for the top under-40 American economist that is often the precursor to a Nobel (no, he's not really a "rogue economist"). His work also caught writer Dubner's attention, which led to the 2003 article in the *New York Times* Magazine that spawned *Freakonomics*.

Levitt describes his favored subject matter as "questions that are too embarrassing and degrading for other economists to find interesting." The pioneer at using economic methods to explore subjects not normally seen as economic was Levitt's Chicago mentor, Gary Becker, who won a Nobel in 1992 for his work on marriage, crime and other topics. A few years ago, another economist applauded this work as "economic imperialism" because it invaded realms dominated by sociologists and political scientists.

Levitt makes for an awfully diffident imperialist. When half of this year's economics Nobel went to a political scientist, he wrote that "the prize is moving toward a Nobel in social science, not a Nobel in economics." But his belief in the power of economic methods remains strong. "For me, being anchored in the data is the most important thing," Levitt says. "It's about applying data in an unconventional way to emotional issues."

Except when you can't. In *Superfreakonomics*, he and Dubner detour from small puzzles (can you find a terrorist by using financial data? How much money do prostitutes make?) to tackle the big, big issue of global warming. This is partly an opportunity for Levitt to express his skepticism of models of complex phenomena such as the global economy or, in this case, the global climate. Mainly, though, it's an excuse to tout the mind-blowing ideas for combatting global warming that he and Dubner learned about while hanging out with former Microsoft chief technology officer Nathan Myhrvold and his merry band of inventors (Myhrvold is a big *Freakonomics* fan). Like a hose 18 miles (29 km) long that would spew sulfur dioxide into the stratosphere. That's not economics. But it is freaky.

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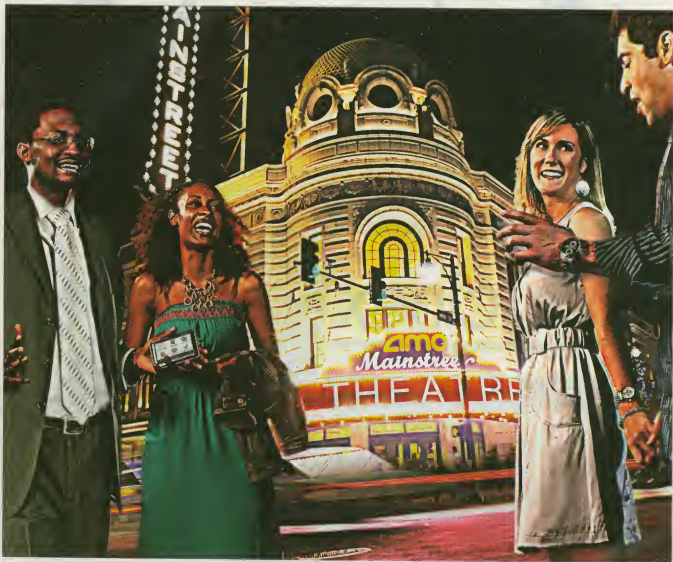
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Joe

# Klein

## The Real Peace Prize. How can Obama possibly live up to his Nobel? By using it to strike a deal in the Middle East

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, PRESENTED prospectively—a triumph of hope over inexperience—threatens to become a central metaphor of Barack Obama's turbocharged political career. He seems fated to be feted for who he is not (George W. Bush) and who he might turn out to be, but not for things he has actually done. This is dangerous stuff, politically. It almost guarantees disappointment. So the prize presents him with an immediate challenge: How does he go about actually earning it? The foreign policy that Obama favors, patient diplomacy on a multitude of fronts, requires qualities of wisdom, horse-trading and fortitude that we can't yet be sure he possesses. Nor does it lend itself to high drama; it is more often about the slow reduction of tensions, or the creative stalemate that prevents things from getting worse, than about Nixon going to China.

But an opportunity for a grand gesture may be developing in the most unlikely of locales: the Middle East. Obama has sent a special envoy, George Mitchell, to launch negotiations, but the Mitchell process has moved slowly and seems to be slouching toward catatonia. The Israelis have refused to freeze their illegal West Bank settlement-building; the Arabs have refused to make any gestures toward recognizing Israel's sovereignty until such a freeze is imposed. Deadlock. At the same time, though, there is the rarest of Middle East commodities—some actual, tangible good news—beginning to bubble up on the West Bank. The situation there is improving dramatically. The Israelis and Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad

have been cooperating on the removal of checkpoints and other economic impediments; the economy is growing at a 7% clip. U.S. Lieut. General Keith Dayton has supervised the training of an effective Palestinian security force; crime and terrorist acts are down significantly. (On the other hand, Hamas-controlled and Israel-isolated Gaza festers.)



The moment may be at hand for a dramatic U.S. initiative, even from a no-drama President. "The two sides seem unable to make peace on their own," says Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser. "I think it would make a lot of sense for the President to announce what he thinks a Middle East peace plan should look like." The elements of such a plan are widely known. Bill Clinton announced a version of it in December 2000, as he was leaving office. Brzezinski cites four major components: a return to 1967 borders, with land swaps enabling Israel to keep many of its existing settlements; no right of return for Palestinians who left, or were forced off, their lands when Israel became a state; Jerusalem as the capital of both Israel and Palestine; and an international peacekeeping force replacing the Israelis currently patrolling

the Jordan River Valley. (A fifth point, often mentioned, would be international control of the religious sites in the Old City of Jerusalem.) "If the President announced such a plan," Brzezinski says, "he would probably receive the support of almost every country in the world, including most of the Arab states. This would put enormous pressure on the Israelis and Palestinians to make peace."

The notion of putting enormous pressure on the Israelis to do anything has proved problematic for U.S. Presidents over time, however—and Brzezinski's well-known desire to apply such pressure

has made him unpopular among Israel's noisy neoconservative and Evangelical supporters. But there are others, including well-known supporters of Israel like David Makovsky of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, who think a breakthrough is possible. Makovsky's idea is to start with what seems the toughest problem: the Israeli settlements. "It is actually possible to work out a land swap that would satisfy both sides," he says. "I've done the maps: a 4% land swap would do it. Eighty percent of Israeli settlers live on 5% of the West Bank. You could give the Palestinians some very attractive land in return for those settlements." That would leave more than 55,000 Israeli settlers on the wrong side of the wire, but their presence, in Arab cities like Hebron, is a permanent provocation that will have to be removed if there is ever to be any chance for peace.

Makovsky has some real credibility on this subject. He and top Obama adviser Dennis Ross offered a version of this idea in a recent book with a long title. Makovsky then presented the plan to Benjamin Netanyahu over the summer. And? "He was noncommittal," Makovsky says. Indeed, if Netanyahu agreed to the land swap, his right-wing coalition would atomize. But he could still form a new government by aligning with the centrist Kadima Party. And then he would have the chance to be remembered as the man who finally secured Israel's borders—the sort of achievement that actually might merit a Nobel Prize.

**With the situation in the West Bank improving, the moment may be at hand for a dramatic U.S. initiative, even from a no-drama President**



Photograph by Ralph Gibson



# WHAT WOMEN WANT NOW

## A TIME SPECIAL REPORT

The ancient question has a new twist; in the fallout of the Great Recession, what unites men and women matters more than what divides them, as old gender battles fade away

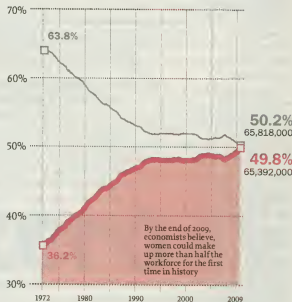
BY NANCY GIBBS

**I**F YOU WERE A WOMAN READING THIS MAGAZINE 40 YEARS ago, the odds were good that your husband provided the money to buy it. That you voted the same way he did. That if you got breast cancer, he might be asked to sign the form authorizing a mastectomy. That your son was heading to college but not your daughter. That your boss, if you had a job, could explain that he was paying you less because, after all, you were probably working just for pocket money.

It's funny how things change slowly, until the day we realize they've changed completely. It's expected that by the end of the year, for the first time in history the majority of workers in the U.S. will be women—largely because the downturn has hit men so hard. This is an extraordinary change in a single generation, and it is gathering speed: the growth prospects, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, are in typically female jobs like nursing, retail and customer service. More and more women are the primary breadwinner in their household (almost 40%) or are providing essential income for the family's bottom line. Their buying power has never been greater—and their choices have seldom been harder.

It is in this context that the Rockefeller Foundation, in collaboration with TIME, conducted a landmark survey of gender issues to assess how individual Americans are reacting. Is the battle of the sexes really over, and if so, did anyone win? How do men now view female power? How much resentment

**Percentage of jobs held by men and women**  
Latest figures from August



**Then & Now** A statistical look back at women's rise

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**Profiles** Catching up with three women we profiled in 1972

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**TIME poll** An exclusive poll of more than 3,000 women

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**Viewpoint** Maria Shriver on women's changing roles

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or confusion or gratitude is there for the forces that have rearranged family life, rewired the economy and reinvented gender roles? And what, if anything, does everyone agree needs to happen to make all this work? The study found that men and women were in broad agreement about what matters most to them; gone is the notion that women's rise comes at men's expense. As the Old Economy dissolves and pressures on working parents grow, they share their fears about what this means for their children and their frustration with institutions that refuse to admit how much has changed. In the new age, the battles we fight together are the ones that define us.

### A Quiet Revolution

IN THE SPRING OF 1972, *TIME* DEVOTED A SPECIAL ISSUE OF the magazine to assessing the status of women in the throes of "women's lib." At a time when American society was racing through change like a reckless teenager, feminism had sputtered and stalled. Women's average wages had actually fallen relative to men's; there were fewer women in the top ranks of civil service (under 2%) than there were four years before. No woman had served in the Cabinet since the Eisenhower Administration; there were no female FBI agents or network-news anchors or Supreme Court justices. The nation's campuses were busy hosting a social revolt, yet Harvard's tenured faculty of 421 included only six women. Of the Museum of Modern Art's 1,000 one-man shows over the previous 40 years, five were by women. Headhunters lamented that it was easier to put a man on the moon than a woman in a corner office. "There is no movement," complained an activist who resigned her leadership position in the National Organization for Women two years after it was founded. "Movement means 'going someplace,' and the movement is not going anywhere. It hasn't accomplished anything."

That was cranky exaggeration; many changes were felt more than seen, a shift in hopes and expectations that cracked the foundations of patriarchy. "In terms of real power—economic and political—we are still just beginning," Gloria Steinem admitted. "But the consciousness, the awareness—that will never be the same."

So it's worth stopping to look at what happened while we were busy ending the Cold War and building a multicultural society and enjoying the longest economic expansion in history. In the slow-motion fumbblings of family life, it was easy just to keep going along, mark the milestones, measure the kids on the kitchen door and miss the movement. In 1972 only 7% of students playing high school sports were girls; now the number is six times as high. The female dropout rate has fallen in half. College campuses used to be almost 60-40 male; now the ratio has reversed, and close to half of law and medical degrees go to women, up from fewer than 10% in 1970. Half the Ivy League presidents are women, and two of the three network anchors soon will be; three of the four most recent Secretaries of State have been women. There are more than 145 foundations designed to empower women around the world, in the belief that this is the greatest possible weapon against poverty and disease; there was only one major foundation (the Ms. Foundation) for women in 1972. For the first time, five women have won Nobel Prizes in the same year (for Medicine, Chemistry, Economics and Literature). We just came through an election year in which Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Tina Fey and Katie Couric were lead

players, not the supporting cast. And the President of the United States was raised by a single mother and married a lawyer who outranked and outearned him.

It is still true that boardrooms and faculty clubs and legislatures and whole swaths of professions like, say, hedge-fund management remain predominantly male; women are about 10% of civil engineers and a third of physicians and surgeons but 98% of kindergarten teachers and dental assistants, and they still earn 77¢ on the dollar compared with men. They are charged higher premiums for health insurance yet still have greater out-of-pocket expenses for things as basic as contraception and maternity care. At times it seems as if the only women effortlessly balancing their jobs, kids, husbands and homes are the ones on TV.

Now the recession raises the stakes and shuffles the deck. Poll after poll finds women even more anxious than men about their family's financial security. While most workers have seen their wages stall or drop, women's earnings fell 2% in 2008, twice as much as men's. Women are 32% more likely than men to have subprime mortgages, leaving them more vulnerable in the housing crisis. The Guttmacher Institute found that the downturn has affected the most basic decisions in family life. Nearly half of women surveyed in households earning less than \$75,000 want to delay pregnancy or limit the number of children they have. At the same time, women are poised to emerge from the downturn with even greater relative economic power as the wage gap narrows. A new survey by GfK Roper for NBC Universal gives a whole new meaning to the power of the purse: 65% of women reported being their family's chief financial planner, and 71% called themselves the family accountant. According to a Mediarnk Research & Intelligence survey, they make 75% of the buying decisions in American homes. Together, women control more wealth than ever in history.

Progress is seldom simple; it comes with costs and casualties, even challenges about whether a change represents an advance or a retreat. The *TIME* survey provides evidence of both. At the most basic level, the argument over where women belong is over; the battle of the sexes becomes a costume drama, like *Middlemarch* or *Mad Men*. Large majorities, across ages and incomes and ideologies, view women's growing role in the workforce as good for both the economy and society in general. More than 8 in 10 say mothers are just as productive at work as fathers or childless workers are. Even more, some 84% affirm that husbands and wives negotiate the rules, relationships and responsibilities more than those of earlier generations did; roughly 7 in 10 men say they are more comfortable than their fathers were with women working outside the home, while women say they are less financially dependent on their spouse than their mother was.

This is not to say there's nothing left to argue about. More than two-thirds of women still think men resent powerful women, yet women are more likely than men to say female bosses are harder to work for than male ones. Men are much more likely to say there are no longer any barriers to female advancement, while a majority of women say men still have it better in life. People are evenly split over whether the "mommy wars" between working and nonworking mothers are finally over.

But just as striking is how much men and women agree on issues that divided them a generation ago. "It happened so fast," writes Gail Collins in her new book, *When Everything Changed*,

# Then&Now.

A statistical look back, from the 1970s to today. BY ANDRÉA FORD AND DEIRDRE VAN DYK

## Women have made gains in pay...

Median annual earnings of full-time workers, in 2008 dollars



## ...but still lag behind men.

For every \$1 men made, women earned **58¢**.  
 Women make **77¢** for every \$1 men earn.



Percentage of women with children under age 18 who are in the labor force



Women give birth to triplets or higher multiples more than five times as frequently as they did in 1972.

1972.....27.8  
 2006.....153.3  
 per 100,000 births

**21**

Median age at which a woman got married for the first time in 1972

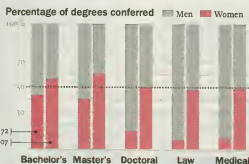
**26**

Median age at which a woman marries for the first time today

## Military Active-duty personnel

|           | TOTAL     | WOMEN         |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| 1972      | 2,323,079 | 45,033 (2%)   |
| ARMY      | 810,960   | 16,771 (2%)   |
| AIR FORCE | 725,838   | 16,491 (2%)   |
| NAVY      | 588,043   | 9,442 (2%)    |
| MARINES   | 198,238   | 2,329 (1%)    |
| 2008      | 1,401,757 | 200,337 (14%) |
| ARMY      | 543,645   | 73,902 (14%)  |
| AIR FORCE | 327,379   | 64,137 (20%)  |
| NAVY      | 332,228   | 50,008 (15%)  |
| MARINES   | 198,505   | 12,290 (6%)   |

Today **57%** of college students are women. In 1972, 43% were.



Female TV-news correspondents at ABC, CBS and NBC

1972  
**7** out of 153 (5%)  
 2008  
**95** out of 252 (38%)

There were more nuns (150,000) than female doctors in the U.S. in 1972. Today, only about 60,000 nuns are active.

**39%** of all births are to unmarried mothers. **12%** were in 1972.

Membership of the National Organization for Women



In 1971, the town of Red Oak, Iowa, had just opened a child-care center. It closed a few months later for lack of customers. Today **five child-care centers** cater to the town's 5,683 people.

On average, women consume **344 more calories** per day than they did in 1974. Today **61%** are overweight, compared with **41%** in the 1970s.

The number of female Supreme Court Justices, Cabinet members, Avon executives, governors, FBI agents and Ivy League presidents

**zero**

|                                |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Supreme Court Justices         | 2     |
| Cabinet members                | 7     |
| Avon executives (VP or higher) | 6     |
| Governors                      | 6     |
| FBI agents                     | 2,396 |
| Ivy League presidents          | 4     |

Children living with a single mother

1972 **13%** 2008 **23%**

Women over age 15 who are married

1970 **62%** 2008 **53%**

Women age 45 to 54 who have never been married

1970 **5%** 2008 **10%**

Rate of divorce per 1,000 population

1972 **4.1** 2008 **3.5**

Men Women

**Lawyers**



**Medical doctors**



There are now **3.3 million** married couples in which the wife is the sole earner. That's 2.4 million more than in 1970.

Today a woman's life expectancy at birth is **80 years**, five years more than in 1970.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Bureau of Labor Statistics; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; National Center for Health Statistics; Department of Defense; National Center for Education Statistics; Center for Applied Research in the Apostrophe; American Medical Association; Center for American Women and Politics; American Bar Association

# Then&Now.

Catching up with three of the women we profiled in TIME's 1972 issue. BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

## THEN

Her life revolved around family and a rambling Illinois farm. "I still feel the male sex should be dominant," **MARCIA HUEBER** told TIME in 1972. "I want my husband to feel he is the head of the household." Five years later, when the youngest of her four kids was in high school, she got a job scheduling appointments for a local veterinarian. She has also taken some community-college classes, but at bottom, she says, "I'm a farmer's wife."



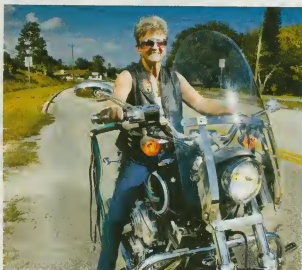
## NOW

'People who knew me couldn't believe I left the farm and got a job. One said to one of [my] sons, Is it really true that your mom has gone to work? His answer was, Yes! We are short on clean underwear and fresh cookies.'



## THEN

She took up welding to escape vocational-school business classes, "especially the charm course," she said in 1972. The only woman welder at Scientific Atlanta, **JANIE COTTRELL** was such a curiosity that the company installed curtains around her workstation. Today she is the lone female operator of the Kennedy Space Center crane.



## NOW

'I'm proud that I'm a woman and in a man's field or whatever. But I work with some great guys that have accepted me, have taught me. I don't think they necessarily treat me as a woman. I think they treat me as an equal.'



**Video Profiles** To see interviews by TIME and NBC News with Cottrell, Galligan and Hueber, go to [time.com/women](http://time.com/women)

#### THEN

"My first priority is my family and my husband's work," she told TIME in 1972. Looking back over 65 years in a marriage she describes as a "partnership," LAURETTA GALLIGAN wouldn't change a thing. She's proud of her six granddaughters, who have more options than she did: one has taught in Spain, another is studying in China, and a third has worked in Alaska and Africa. "They can do anything," Galligan says, but balancing career and family takes "good planning."



#### NOW

"It used to be that a man would be ashamed to be found in the kitchen ... Those old stereotypes have been buried forever. I think it's good that we got rid of most of them. I can't think of any that we'd want to hold on to."



BLACK-AND-WHITE PHOTOGRAPHING: SCOTCHMAN; FROM TOP: LEFT AND SCOTT; RIGHT: TIME; ARTIST: MICHAEL; NOT FOR TIME; RIGHT: SCOTT; FROM TIME

"that the revolution seemed to be over before either side could really find its way to the barricades." It's as though sensible people are too busy to bother bickering about who takes out the garbage or who deserves the corner office; many of the deepest conflicts are now ones that men and women share. Especially in the absence of social supports, flexible work arrangements and affordable child care, it's hardly surprising that a majority of both men and women still say it is best for children to have a father working and a mother at home. Among the most dramatic changes in the past generation is the detachment of marriage and motherhood; more men than women identified marriage as "very important" to their happiness. Women no longer view matrimony as a necessary station on the road to financial security or parenthood. The percentage of children born to single women has leaped from 12% to 39%. Whereas a majority of children in the mid-1970s were raised by a stay-at-home parent, the portion is now less than a third, and nearly two-thirds of people say this has been a negative for American society.

Among the most confounding changes of all is the evidence, tracked by numerous surveys, that as women have gained more freedom, more education and more economic power, they have become less happy. No tidy theory explains the trend, notes University of Pennsylvania economist Justin Wolfers, a co-author of *The Paradox of Declining Female Happiness*. "We looked across all sectors—young vs. old, kids or no kids, married or not married, education, no education, working or not working—and it stayed the same," he says of the data. "But there are a few ways to look at it," he adds. "As Susan Faludi said, the women's movement wasn't about happiness." It may be that women have become more honest about what ails them. Or that they are now free to wrestle with the same pressures and conflicts that once accounted for greater male unhappiness. Or that modern life in a global economy is simply more stressful for everyone but especially for women, who are working longer hours while playing quarterback at home. "Some of the other social changes that have happened over the last 35 years—changes in family, in the workplace—may have affected men differently than women," Wolfers says. "So maybe we're not learning about changes due to the women's movement but changes in society."

All the shapes in the puzzle are shifting. If there is anything like consensus on an issue as basic as how we live our lives as men and women, as lovers, parents, partners, it's that getting the pieces of modern life to fit together is hard enough; something has to bend. Equal numbers of men and women report frequent stress in daily life, and most agree that government and businesses have failed to adjust to the changes in the family. As the Old Economy dissolves before our eyes, men and women express remarkably similar life goals when asked about the importance of money, health, jobs and family. If male jobs keep vanishing, if physical strength loses its workplace value, if the premium shifts ever more to education, in which achievement is increasingly female, then we will soon be having parallel conversations: What needs to be done to free American men to realize their full potential? You can imagine the whole conversation flipping in a single generation.

It's no longer a man's world. Nor is it a woman's nation. It's a cooperative, with bylaws under constant negotiation and expectations that profits be equally shared. —WITH REPORTING BY ANDRÉA FORD AND DEIRDRE VAN DYK

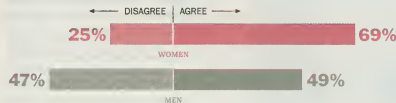


A **TIME** POLL

# Work

Women in the workforce are now a fact of life. So where are the tensions and flash points, and what do both men and women wish would happen to make balancing work and family a little easier?

**Men resent women who have more power than they do**



**You are comfortable with the woman in the household earning more money than the man**

AGREE



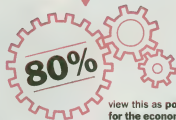
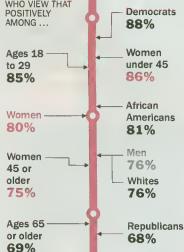
**40% of women say they are the primary breadwinner in their household**

Forty years ago, one-third of all workers were women; now nearly half are.

# 76%

of adults view this as **positive for society**

PERCENTAGE WHO VIEW THAT POSITIVELY AMONG ...



**84% agree that businesses have not done enough to address the needs of modern families**

Which of these are necessary for working parents to balance their work, marriage and children?





In households where both partners have jobs, women **take on more responsibilities** for the home and family than their male partners do

STRONGLY AGREE



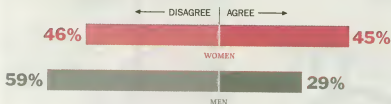
Women need to **behave more like men** to be taken seriously in the workplace

DISAGREE



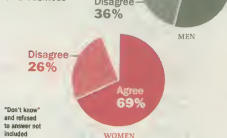
**71% of men are more comfortable than their fathers with women working outside the home**

**Female bosses are harder to work for than male bosses**

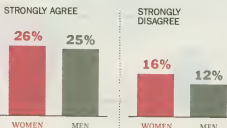


More men (**60%**) than women (**50%**) are convinced that there are **no longer any barriers** to women's advancement in the workplace

There would be fewer problems in the world if women **were more equal** in government and business

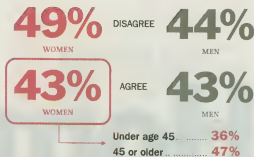


Women who work outside the home have **less time and attention** for their marriage or relationship



## WORKING MOTHERS

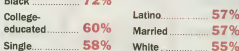
The battle between **working mothers** and **stay-at-home mothers** has mostly ended



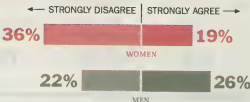
Women who have children are just as committed to their jobs as women who do not have children



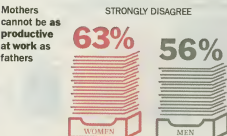
WOMEN WHO STRONGLY AGREE



It is harder for a mother who works outside the home to establish a **warm and secure relationship** with her children than it is for a mother who does not work outside the home



Mothers cannot be as **productive at work** as fathers

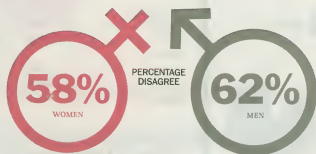


A **TIME** POLL

# Home

Men and women express very similar life goals, and everyone talks about sharing the burdens. But women still carry the heavier workload at home. For most households, family life involves constant negotiation

Men have lost the battle of the sexes

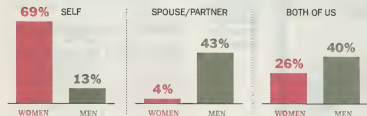


Issue is **very important** to you



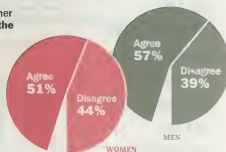
## GENDER ROLES

In your household, who is **primarily** responsible for taking care of your children?



It is better for a family if the father works outside the home and the mother takes care of the children

"Don't know" and refused to answer not included

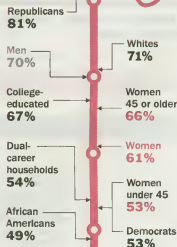


In the 1970s, most children grew up with a stay-at-home parent; now only about 30% do.

# 65%

of adults view this as **negative for society**

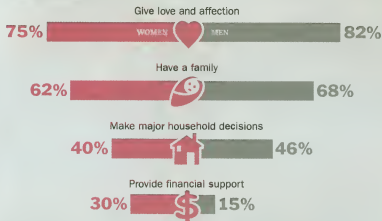
PERCENTAGE WHO VIEW THAT NEGATIVELY AMONG ...



## How would you describe your marriage or partnership?



## It is very important for a romantic partner to ...



## How often do you experience stress?



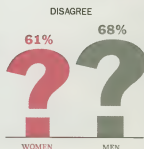
\*Don't know\* and refused to answer not included

## All things considered, men continue to have it better in life than women do

STRONGLY AGREE



With the rise of women in society and the workplace, men no longer know their role



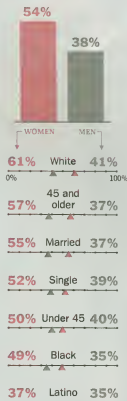
## Women still bear the primary responsibility for taking care of sick or elderly parents

STRONGLY AGREE



It is possible for a woman to have a fulfilling life if she remains single

STRONGLY AGREE



78%

OF WOMEN AGREE

The realities of family life today are not adequately represented in entertainment and news media

## HOW THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED

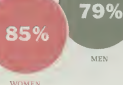
3,413 adults (1,599 men and 1,814 women) nationwide were contacted by telephone Aug. 31–Sept. 15. Telephone numbers were chosen randomly in separate samples of landline and cell-phone exchanges. The sample includes 446 African Americans and 383 Latinos. It was adjusted to census proportions of gender, ethnicity, age, education and national region. The margin of error for all adults is ±2 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. Interviewing was conducted by Abt SRBI of New York City.


## Which would you most want a daughter of yours to have?



It is now more acceptable for men to be stay-at-home dads than it was in previous generations

AGREE





A guy I don't know,  
at a job I just left,  
is in charge of my retirement.  
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# The Unfinished Revolution

The numbers don't lie: it's no longer a man's world.

**Maria Shriver** on why more change is needed

**M**Y MOTHER DIED RECENTLY, AND needless to say, I've been thinking about her a lot. Eunice Kennedy Shriver was a trailblazer for American women. She was scary smart and not afraid to show it. She didn't buy into the propaganda of her day that women had to be soft and submissive. That took courage back then, because she grew up in a family that expected a lot from the boys and very little from the girls.

My mother raised me to believe women had a unique power to change the language, tempo and character of the world. Her heroes were women: first and foremost, her own mother and the millions of other mothers of kids with intellectual disabilities—but also Dorothy Day, Mother Teresa, Clare Boothe Luce. She told me their stories because she wanted me to appreciate their impact. She encouraged me and other women to believe we had the ability to change the world.

It's been more than four decades since her brother President John F. Kennedy asked former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt to chair the very first Commission on the Status of Women. The goal: to find out how much progress had been made toward giving women "practical equality with men." Anthropologist Margaret Mead, who co-edited the final report, wrote, "The climate of opinion is turning against the idea that homemaking is the only form of feminine achievement."

Since then, there's been a slow and steady shift of women into the workplace—a shift accelerated by today's recession. Women are more likely than ever to head their families; half those women who



Eunice Kennedy With brother Jack in 1941

are primary breadwinners are also single mothers. Seventy percent of families with kids include a working mother. And more and more of them, like me, are moving into what I call "the Squeeze Generation," caring both for kids and for aging parents.

To take the pulse of Americans, I put my journalist's hat back on and crisscrossed the country holding conversations with women and men on the front lines of this new American revolution. With our partners from the Center for American Progress, we produced *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Changes Everything*, a landmark study that examines how families live and work today. Everywhere I went, people talked to me about how stressed they feel, especially when it comes to financial security. Women said that never before has so much been asked of them, and never have they delivered so much. Divorced mothers talked to me about trying to make do without child support. A single mother who had just lost her job told me she was utterly dependent on her family and friends just to stay afloat. A businesswoman on the West Coast told me she and her husband "are constantly renegotiating our agreement about what gets done [and] who does it." You hear a lot about the search for a "balanced life." More and more women say that if they could, they'd like to leave companies that are unresponsive and start their own businesses. Many of them do. In fact, the number of women working for themselves doubled

from 1979 to 2003, so that women make up 35% of all self-employed people.

Men are feeling out of sorts and stressed out as well. Wherever I went, I was surprised at how open men were to sharing their bafflement about what women want—and their insecurities about what's expected of them. "All of us grew up thinking this was a man's world, that doors were just gonna open to us because we had a Y chromosome," a Seattle man told me. "And suddenly we have to adjust to the fact that that's not the case. And the recession has made it even more intense for us. So every family is trying to figure out what does it mean that we're both working, or that I'm laid off and you're working? We haven't thrown some switch to go from a man's world to a woman's world. It's more like we're finally, for the first time, in a position where it's no longer *only* a man's world. Now what does that mean?"

While there's much to cheer about these days on the equality front, we still have a long way to go. Women still don't make as much as men do for the same jobs. The U.S. still is the only industrialized nation without a child-care policy. Women are still being punished by a tax code designed when men were the sole breadwinners and women the sole caregivers. Sexual violence against women still is a huge issue. Women still are disproportionately affected by a lack of health-care services. And lesbian couples and older women are among the poorest segments of our society.

Which brings me back to my mother. I know for sure that if she were alive today, she'd say of this report, "It's about time!" In articles published after her death, so many people were quoted as saying, "If only Eunice had been a man, she could have been President!" "If only," My mother learned from that. Her message to women was "Don't let society tame you or contain you." Today she could run for President. And I believe she would win. ■

*Shriver is the First Lady of California, a journalist and the leader of the Women's Conference*

**My mother raised me to believe women had a unique power to change the language, tempo and character of the world**



# A Healthier Way to Pay Doctors

Physicians' bills are inflating medical costs and distorting the profession. One hospital is trying to fix the system

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

**I**T'S HARD TO FEEL SORRY FOR AMERICA'S family doctors. Any job that averages \$179,000 per year and lets you be your own boss is a job most folks wouldn't turn down. With the effort to rein in health-care costs increasingly framed as an unhappy trade-off in which insurers either slash benefits or raise premiums, some in Washington are beginning to ask a question long considered off-limits: Do we simply pay doctors too much?

The truth is, we pay them all wrong.

Doctors themselves could tell you that—particularly primary-care providers (PCPs), the foot soldiers of the U.S. medical system. New doctors graduate from medical school lugging up to \$200,000 in student loans. Paying that off takes a big bite out of even a low-six-figure salary. Add to that the high costs, long days and billing headaches involved in running a practice, and it's no wonder so many family docs are trading up to specialties like orthopedics or neurology, where the pay can be three times as great and the hours a whole lot shorter. Only 3 out of 10 doctors in the U.S. now are PCPs, compared with 5 out of 10 elsewhere in the world. Those family physicians who remain find themselves in a constant money chase, meeting their monthly nut with the help of the revenue they make by prescribing tests—X-rays, CT scans, EKGs—that may or may not be strictly necessary but generate a lot of separate billing.

This so-called fee-for-service tradition has contributed to the dysfunction of the U.S. health-care system. Americans buy health care the same way they buy furniture, clothes and food: one item at a time.





**An inside look**  
*A Geisinger physician gets multiple internal views  
of a patient from an electrophysiology exam*



**A day in the lives** From left, a doctor preparing for a cardiac catheterization; a nurses' station in the children's hospital; another doctor dictates notes into the digital archive

Physicians bill by the visit; radiologists bill by the X-ray; hospitals bill by the day. That drunken spending has led to the familiar horror-story numbers: a health-care system that gobbles up 16% of gross domestic product, compared with 9% in other industrialized countries, yet leaves the U.S. trailing those countries in such critical metrics as life expectancy and infant mortality.

Bad as that is for consumers and the national debt, it's also turned doctors into fee chasers. More and more of them invest in labs or radiology clinics so they generate revenue not just from the procedures they do themselves but also from the ones they farm out. Others buy state-of-the-art diagnostic hardware and charge state-of-the-art fees to use it. "Focus on your bottom line," urges a brochure for in-office CT-scan machines from one manufacturer. And as long as insurers pay the bills, patients don't ask what things cost. "A colonoscopy used to take 45 minutes to perform," says Ted Epperly, board chairman of the American Academy of Family Physicians. "Now it takes 15, but the cost hasn't come down."

Indeed, across the board, costs are going up. And between the millstones of fee-for-service and pressure from insurers to curb all the extra billing, family doctors are being ground into paste. "We've made it systematically as unpleasant to be a PCP as it is to be a primary-school teacher," says Gene Lindsey, president of Atrius Health, a nonprofit alliance of medical providers in Massachusetts. "We're real adept at that."

But there are ways to fix what ails the docs—and repair the health-care system

in the process. In the rolling hills of central Pennsylvania, the Geisinger Health System is trying something different. The 726 physicians and 257 residents and fellows who work there don't do piecework. They are paid a salary—benchmarked against the national average—plus potential bonuses based on how well their patients do under their care. One result is that Geisinger is able to hang on to its PCPs while other hospitals are losing theirs. Another is that Geisinger makes money, and, oh yes, the patients get well.

In his Sept. 9 speech to Congress, President Obama singled out Geisinger and Utah's Intermountain Healthcare as examples of organizations that are learning to do things right. He could have cited others too: the Cleveland Clinic, the Mayo Clinic, Kaiser Permanente. What these providers have in common are the creative ways they're doing away with fee-for-service and replacing it with an imaginative mix of systems that cost less, keep patients healthier and make doctors happier. "We need a transition to rewarding the actual value of care," says Dr. Elliott Fisher, director of population health and policy at the Dartmouth Institute. "For now, our payment system is getting in the way."

### Less Is Much More

IN THE YEARS SINCE THE REVILED HEALTH-maintenance organizations (HMOs) were at their peak, all manner of fixes have been proposed to the health-care system, from small tweaks to wholesale overhauls. There's pay-for-performance: compensation depending on doctors' success in keeping costs down and getting patients well. There's episode care: a fixed price for a procedure like a heart bypass that covers everything from pre-op to sur-

gery to full recuperation. Most broadly, there's global care, which provides access to a diverse team of caregivers who cover all of a patient's needs for a single premium over the length of a policy—essentially episode care writ large.

Geisinger uses a little of all three strategies. Founded in 1915 as a 70-bed hospital in a small, underserved rural community, the operation now spans a 43-county region, with a total of 67 sites—stretching from one-doctor offices and in-store clinics to a sprawling main campus in Danville, Pa. Like Kaiser, the 13,000-employee Geisinger is both a care provider and an insurer. About 30% of its 783,000 patients have the in-house coverage; the remaining 70% are covered by other private insurers or Medicare.

Geisinger's brand of care can take some getting used to—at least for the doctors. Come to work for Geisinger and the first thing you notice is that that your days as a medical free agent are over. You are now an employee, an idea that may seem like a very bad thing—until you get used to it and realize that it can be a very good thing.

Family physicians in the Geisinger system, like family physicians everywhere, make less money than specialists—at first. To narrow the gap, the specialists subsidize the PCPs, keeping the family practitioners happy without taking too big a bite from the orthopedists and cardiologists. "I couldn't recruit if I didn't do that," says Dr. Glenn Steele, Geisinger's CEO. "We don't want our family doctors setting up their own radiology clinics."

A doctor's pay is not fixed in advance. Salaries are pegged so that they stay within 80% of the national average, but up to 20% of income is based on teams' achieving performance goals. If the cardiac group



keeps its complication and readmission rates below a certain level, paychecks get fatter because costs decrease. Ditto for the pediatric orthopedic team, which must successfully treat kids for, say, spinal curvature without being too quick with the knife for those who don't need surgery or too slow for those who do. "We keep cash compensation flexible and incentivized," Steele says. "That takes away some of the insane piecework."

It's in the operating room that the new way of doing things is most graphically illustrated. Surgery in the U.S. is billed the same à la carte way primary care is: separate charges for the hospital, the anesthesiologist, the lead surgeon, the post-op checkups, and on and on. Care itself can be similarly fragmented, with patients finding themselves in the hands of whoever happens to be on duty at any point in the day and a doctor on the night shift knowing little about a patient whose surgeon worked the day shift. Dr. Alfred Casale, Geisinger's chief of cardiothoracic surgery, tells stories of surgeons who don't even conform to the same rules for color-coding wires in a heart device, making it awfully hard for an intensive-care technician to do repairs if something goes wrong. "When there's a complication at 2

in the morning," he says, "too often nurses can't ask, 'What's his problem?' until they ask, 'Whose is he?'"

In 2004, Steele decided to fix this, switching Geisinger over to a *prix fixe*, episode-care model for surgery, starting with the heart bypass. Under the new system, a closely coordinated team of caregivers would be responsible for every stage of a bypass patient's treatment and recovery. The hospital would submit a single bill for all work and include a 90-day warranty. If a patient checked back in with a complication like a postsurgical infection, that work would be on Geisinger's dime. "We'll do it right, or we won't send a bill" was how Steele put it to his staff.

Casale was charged with implementing the new plan. The first thing he and his team did was take 20 general steps all surgeons follow throughout a bypass episode and try to sharpen them in a way that would remove as much chance and variability as possible, going so far as to spell out the specific drugs and dosages doctors would use. The result was an expanded 40-step list that some surgeons balked at initially, deriding what they called "cookbook medicine." Once doctors began following the expanded checklist, however, they grew to like it. After the first 200 operations—a total of 8,000 steps—there had been just four steps not followed precisely, for a 99.95% compliance rate. A total of 320 bypasses have now been performed under the new rules. "There are fewer complications. Patients are going home sooner. There's less post-op bleeding and less intubation in the operating room," says Casale. What's more, the reduced complication rate has cut the per-patient cost by about \$2,000.

Geisinger docs have since put together similar checklists for hip-replacement,

## Piecework Medicine. Comparing fee-for-service with one of the alternatives



### FEE-FOR-SERVICE

#### How do doctors get paid?

Each procedure, an X-ray, say, generates a fee. If you get better, that's nice, but it doesn't change what the doctor receives

#### Are all doctors affected equally?

No. Some docs invest in testing labs to increase revenue, driving up costs nationwide. It's family physicians who get squeezed the most

#### Can't we put a cap on the testing?

HMOs tried to in the 1990s, to howl from patients. Insurers and doctors facing limits may skip on needed care

#### How does this serve patients?

Badly. When revenue drives care, low-cost prevention is often overlooked in favor of expensive intervention later on



### FIXED PRICE

#### How do doctors get paid?

Insurers pay a set price for a given procedure, from pre-op to surgery to recovery. Medications are included

#### How do you prevent skimping?

Prices are set realistically, and bonuses and incentives are paid for successful outcomes. You live—and they get more

#### Suppose there's a complication?

Some plans include warranties that extend perhaps 90 days after discharge. Treating a complication in that time is on the hospital's or provider's dime

#### What about chronic conditions?

Treatment for illnesses like diabetes and asthma is covered with a fixed fee over the course of an entire year

**'We need a transition to rewarding the actual value of care. Our payment system is getting in the way.'**

—DR. ELLIOTT FISHER,  
THE DARTMOUTH INSTITUTE



bariatric and cataract surgeries and another for patients taking lifesaving kidney drugs. The kidney results have been especially striking: by better determining the proper dosage for individual patients and training them to self-administer their meds, the hospital has saved \$3,800 per patient per year while more than doubling the number who score within the parameters of good kidney health.

Technology has also helped Geisinger hold down costs while making doctors' lives easier. Geisinger began installing electronic health-records systems in 1996 and since then has invested about

The chart will track the kid throughout life—for the orthopedist or cardiologist or obstetrician he or she sees in later years.

### Running the Numbers

FOR DOCTORS, LAWMAKERS AND ANYONE else embroiled in the health-care-reform debate, the question is, Can a system like Geisinger's go national? The short answer: in some ways it has. Pay-for-performance, episode care and global coverage have been seeping into health plans for a while.

According to a study by the AARP, 30% of primary-care physicians already have some kind of pay-for-performance incen-

based teams of doctors who collaborate on care. The programs would be tested first among Medicare patients, but what happens in Medicare—with its 45 million recipients—ultimately drives the industry.

Still, significant unforeseens remain, as history shows. Massachusetts' highly touted experiment with universal coverage has taken hits for failing to lower health-care costs. Bigby attributes this partly to high housing and labor costs and the fact that the state is home to so many pricey academic medical centers. That may be true, but you can bet that Massachusetts' remaining one of the priciest health-care providers in the U.S. was not among the selling points when advocates of universal coverage were stumping for the plan. Similarly, global care may correct the problem—or harbor bear traps of its own.

Geisinger's financials are undeniably rock-solid: the system pulls in about \$1.5 billion per year from its premiums and from other insurers, and it has a AA credit rating. But part of that is due to the similar solidity of its patient base—a homogeneous population with a predictable range of ills. The financial team prefers things this way and has resisted any calls for expansion. "We've purposely stuck to our knitting in central Pennsylvania," says Dr. Duane Davis, chief medical officer of Geisinger Health Plans. But larger plans trying to serve more-diverse communities don't have the same luxury. What's more, while Geisinger's electronic health records may be an impressive showpiece, not every provider has a loose \$120 million to plow into such a system.

Finally, there's the matter of the doctors themselves. Physicians may want to get off the fee-for-service carousel, but salary-plus-incentives means that sometimes you won't meet your targets and your paycheck will dwindle. And some docs may chafe at being hitched to a team. One sweetener Dartmouth's Fisher recommends is forgiving some medical-school debts—an idea Obama endorsed at an Oct. 5 photo op with doctors, though in his plan, the break would be limited to those who agree to work in underserved or rural markets.

Overhauling fee-for-service may well make medicine less lucrative for some practitioners. But it would give others a new opportunity to practice medicine in an almost forgotten way: getting to know their patients and keeping them healthy so they can avoid a surgeon or a hospital. "It's a chance for a primary-care doctor to be a hero again," says Dr. Thomas Graf, chairman of Geisinger's community-practice team. That's not the stuff of AA bond ratings or billion-dollar revenue streams, but it just might be worth more than both. ■



**Play date** Heilei Harmon, 7, takes a Wii break in a hospital playroom, a doctor-free zone

\$120 million in wiring its sites. On a recent morning, Dr. Nancy Grauso-Eby, a pediatrician working on the Danville campus, opened the record of a 4-year-old boy coming in because of an earache, and his entire history, from birth, popped up on her screen. So did a yellow alert that recommended the boy participate in a study called Garden Gang, a pilot program designed to teach kids how to eat better. When Grauso-Eby scrolled down, it was clear why the computer flagged this kid: the preschooler weighed 80 lb. (36 kg)—off the digital chart that tracks his growth curve.

While you might not need a computer to tell you that an 80-lb. 4-year-old needs to lose weight, it helps when the same system also warns about a food or drug allergy or a missed measles vaccination. When a child Grauso-Eby treats goes to see a specialist, that doctor will see the same chart, and an alert will flash if the two doctors are prescribing drugs that adversely interact.

tive written into their plan contracts, and 28% of group practices include performance benchmarks. Since 2007, Massachusetts has required all its citizens to have health insurance, about 20% of which involves some kind of global coverage—handling all of a patient's health-care needs for the duration of the policy. In July, the state announced plans to go further, eliminating fee-for-service entirely within five years and mandating global care statewide. Similar plans are ramping up in Minnesota and Wisconsin. "We're going to do this incrementally," says JudyAnn Bigby, Massachusetts' secretary of health and human services. "We want to increase pay-for-performance first and episode payments next." Is five years enough to make the transition entirely? Bigby concedes she doesn't know. "No one's ever done this," she admits.

All the health-care bills making their fitful way through Congress include whacks at fee-for-service too, mostly in the form of programs that introduce episode payments or set up what are known as accountable care organizations, community-



# Health-Care Grudge Match! In the battle between the White House and health insurers, two longtime colleagues face off

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL

ON THE SURFACE, THERE WAS NOTHING unusual about the Oct. 6 telephone call between White House health-care boss Nancy-Ann DeParle and Karen Ignagni, the leading medical-insurance lobbyist in Washington. The two women have known each other for years and often speak several times a week. Though Ignagni's group, America's Health Insurance Plans (AHIP), has long been leery of—and at other times downright hostile to—the health-care bills moving through Congress, an uneasy truce was holding between the insurers and a White House bent on reform. But just barely: when DeParle and a Senate aide asked Ignagni during the call to confirm a rumor that her industry was about to release a report attacking the measure being prepared by Senator Max Baucus, DeParle recalls, “she said, ‘No, we are miles away from putting out a report.’”

Five days later, Ignagni released an analysis by PricewaterhouseCoopers that claimed, on the basis of a misleading reading of the bill, that reform could lead to a painful spike in insurance premiums for ordinary Americans. The episode shattered the thin trust between the Administration and the insurance lobby and set the stage for an ugly and very public war over the shape of the final measure. “I feel completely misled,” said the Senate aide who was on the call. “There are a couple of things you have to have in this town, and your good name is one of them.”

The AHIP report was the kind of one-sided study that lobbyists sometimes commission to create scary sound

bites. It worked. The report analyzed the impact of four narrow features of the Senate Finance bill using a worst-case-scenario model; it concluded, as Ignagni says, that “health care costs [would] increase far faster and higher than they would under the current system.” A fairer reading of the bill, which cleared the Finance Committee on Oct. 13 with a 14-9 vote, with one Republican supporter, suggests these projected costs are wildly exaggerated. Other provisions of the bill are aimed at lowering insurance rates. But the legislation has not yet been fully analyzed by congressional bean coun-

ters, and it has so many unquantifiable parts that even some of its proponents admit that hard numbers are difficult to nail down. “It’s impossible to figure out what the bottom-line impact is,” says a Finance-panel aide.

Though the industry’s alarmism failed to derail the Baucus bill, the struggle over health-care reform is far from over. The conversations between DeParle and Ignagni laid bare what is really at stake for the insurers as health-care reform has gained momentum. For example, both DeParle and the Senate aide claim Ignagni voiced serious concerns during the Oct. 6 call over a provision in the Senate Finance bill that would raise \$600 million in new taxes on the salaries of high-paid insurance executives. DeParle also said that in a White House meeting the next day, Ignagni repeatedly suggested that she was getting pressure from insurance CEOs who were alarmed about a drop in their firms’ stock prices since mid-September, in part resulting from grim forecasts by Wall Street analysts. “She said her CEOs were really up in arms,” DeParle said. For her part, Ignagni denies that she ever told the White House not to expect a report, and says she never discussed taxes on CEO pay with any officials. She said DeParle raised the issue

of Wall Street analysts. “I had two people that were with me,” Ignagni added as corroboration. “They don’t lie.”

The dustup marks the end of the controversial White House strategy of keeping all the powerful industries playing nice during the months-long period of bill-drafting. But the insurance lobby’s hard-line tactics may give President Obama and his aides a convenient foil just when critics on their left flank are mobilizing for more-dramatic reforms. If those more liberal lawmakers get their way, the insurers could take some more hits: on Oct. 14, Democratic New York Senator Chuck Schumer struck back by announcing that he wants to revoke health insurers’ antitrust exemption. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who has called insurers “almost immoral,” is talking about a windfall-profits tax on the industry. Which means the insurers and the White House could be back in touch before long. —WITH REPORTING BY KATE PICKERT/NEW YORK ■

## HEALTH-CARE SMACKDOWN



**THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY**  
Karen Ignagni

VS.

**WHITE HOUSE**  
Nancy-Ann DeParle

The penalties for those who don't buy insurance are too weak, raising costs for everyone else

Will reforms cover enough of the uninsured?

Reform proposals will add coverage for tens of millions, though details are still being ironed out

Insurance companies will be forced to raise premiums, hurting consumers

Will new taxes and fees be passed on to consumers?

Other parts of reform will offset increases in insurance rates from new taxes

The current proposals do not do enough to bring down long-term health-care-delivery costs

Will reform truly reduce medical costs long-term?

Though not quantifiable or ideal, the cost-limiting aspects of the bill are a vital step forward

WORLD

# The World According to Misha

He survived war with Russia, faced down opposition at home and became a Western media star in the process. But what kind of ally is Georgia's Mikheil Saakashvili?

BY NATHAN THORNBURGH

**The big Show**  
Saakashvili, at  
the launch of a new  
bank branch in  
Batumi, hopes to  
lure new investment  
to Georgia





Photographs by Thomas Dworzak—Magnific

**T**HE WEARY DISSIDENTS AND OPPOSITION leaders of Tbilisi call it the Show, the ready display of virility and political kinetics that Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili reserves for the many visitors whose good opinion he seeks. "I'm sure you'll be charmed," says Tinatin Khidasheli, a human-rights lawyer who is a leader of the opposition Republican Party of Georgia, over espresso and cigarettes at the brand-new Radisson Tbilisi. "Everyone always is."

The Show is a little different for each visitor. For Senator John McCain, it meant jet-skiing with Saakashvili on the Black Sea. Vice President Joe Biden was treated to a twirling, leaping folk-dance spectacular in Tbilisi. More than a few reporters have been granted late-night interviews on Saakashvili's presidential plane, a sleek Bombardier Challenger stocked with cognac and patriotic Georgian music videos.

My Show began a short while after the one-year anniversary of Georgia's ill-fated war with Russia. A report by the European Union blaming both Russia and Georgia for the conflict was about to be released, but word had already leaked that the report would accuse Georgia of firing the first shots. The war all but ended Saakashvili's dreams of unifying Georgia with the breakaway republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia—nearly a fifth of its territory—and the report could possibly damage his other great project: convincing the West that Georgia is a reliable military and economic ally.

With much to prove, Saakashvili gave an unusually robust Show during my visit. It started with a ride along the Black Sea coast on his presidential helicopter, and by the time it was finished almost a week later, it had led from the Abkhazian border in the northwest to the central wine country of Kakheti and eventually to the President's offices inside the new glass-and-steel chancellery building in Tbilisi.

Saakashvili still has the immense talent for communication that made him an international celebrity when he took power after 2003's bloodless Rose Revolution. He's an imposing man—at 6 ft. 4 in. (193 cm), he is the tallest Georgian I saw until we watched the national basketball team beat Belarus—with a polyglot charisma. At various times throughout the week, he spoke to me in Russian, Spanish and—above all—his famous English, an enthusiastic tumble of idiomatic American that he learned while studying and practicing law in New York City and Washington.

But the question isn't Saakashvili's



**Wary allies**  
U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, at top left with Saakashvili, has pressed for real political reform in Georgia

**Purpose-built**  
A clear-glass train station, top right, is one of many new buildings in Batumi, which Saakashvili is developing at a remarkable pace

**Big dreams**  
Saakashvili surveys his country from the air. Though the region is calm now, tensions with Russia could lead to another war





charm; it's the quality of his vision for Georgia and whether his wary allies can trust him to lead his country there. The stakes are high. This tiny country half the size of North Carolina is the rawest point of contact between the rising confidence of Russia and the eastward encroachment of the great Western alliances—NATO and the E.U. Yet the most crucial conflict may be the one within Saakashvili himself, between his enormous ambitions for Georgia and the impetuosity that could yet spoil his young democracy or bring more bloodshed to the Caucasus.

### The Road to War

OUR FIRST FLIGHT TOOK US TO A DESERTED stretch of Black Sea coast at Anaklia Bay. Saakashvili, who is sometimes swept away by his own optimism, met several leading Spanish architects on the beach to discuss developing a resort nearly 4 miles (6 km) long that would lead right up to the border with the breakaway republic of Abkhazia. The area may have natural potential—"The water's like boiled milk," an official told me approvingly—but Saakashvili seemed to be ignoring the obvious. If war breaks out again, the Russian army will rumble first through Anaklia, bombing and burning, just as it did last year.

Saakashvili's heavily armed SUV convoy then took us north over dusty roads to the border village of Ganmukhuri and the 8-ft. (2.5 m) earthen berm he likes to call "the next Berlin Wall." Throngs of jubilant Georgians waved flags, passed him handwritten notes, yelled "Misha" and led chants of "*Gaumajros!*" (To victory!). Saakashvili's personal film crew, which follows him nearly everywhere he goes, climbed the berm looking for a better shot but was quickly pulled down. This is, after all, a tense place, where a shouting match two years ago between Saakashvili and a Russian general almost led to a wider conflict.

One of Saakashvili's earliest political promises in 2004 was to get Abkhazia and South Ossetia back in Georgia's fold. Both territories had turned to Russia for protection after a bloody civil war in the early 1990s, however, and the Kremlin had little incentive to broker a peace. Instead, it began to use unrest there to undermine Saakashvili's courtship of NATO, which he wanted Georgia to join. Saakashvili told me that from the outset, any talk he had with then Russian President Vladimir Putin on the breakaway territories was met with warnings about his relationship to the West: "The first lecture [Putin] ever gave me in Moscow was 'All these Eastern European leaders seem to be so subservient to the U.S.' It was very disgusting to

Putin. He warned me, 'Don't even try that.'"

After years of escalating border incidents, war began in earnest the night of Aug. 7, 2008, when Saakashvili, who says he believed a Russian attack was imminent, ordered the shelling of Tskhinvali, the capital of South Ossetia. It was a colossal miscalculation. Saakashvili told me he never expected the U.S., Georgia's closest ally, to fight for Georgia. Yet the country was nonetheless gripped by a sense of abandonment when the inevitable punishing Russian counterattack came. The Russians bombed infrastructure targets all over Georgia and cut off the main east-west highway, then marched to within 34 miles (55 km) of Tbilisi before turning back. Georgians felt betrayed. As one told me, "We were looking at the skies constantly, asking, Where are the goddam Americans?"

The war lasted five days, but the danger continues. Russia, which has recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states (only Nicaragua and Venezuela have followed suit), has evicted all international monitors from the territories and is most likely arming those areas to the teeth. Georgia's new Defense Minister, Bacho Akhalaia, told me the Georgian army will "stay calm." But the military is rebuilding. An infantry battalion will deploy to Afghanistan in January under the command of U.S. Marines, and it will return, as veterans did from a deployment in Iraq, with more experience and confidence for the next engagement. Though the E.U. report found that Saakashvili was unjustified in firing first, he says the Russians left him without options. "I've been running it over and over again, what happened," he said. "But we had no choice."

A rapprochement between warring parties seems unlikely. In a brief telephone interview, South Ossetian leader Eduard Kokoity called Saakashvili "psychologically unbalanced," "unstable" and a "liar." For his part, Saakashvili seems to like to taunt Putin, now Prime Minister of Russia. ("Putin pledged solemnly to hang me by the balls. He couldn't succeed in that," he says.) The Russians refuse to speak to Saakashvili at all. They continue to accuse him of genocide, a dubious description for a conflict that resulted in 358 South Ossetian deaths.

His relationship with the U.S., meanwhile, is in transition. Though viewed with suspicion by some for his association with George W. Bush's democratic evangelism—"In some ways, he's the last neocon standing," says Lincoln Mitchell, a Georgia expert at Columbia University—Saakashvili remains close to Biden, who visited Georgia in August. A senior Obama





Administration official, speaking on condition of anonymity, says that in private talks, Biden "spoke very candidly about the importance of acting on his promise to pursue political reforms." Saakashvili said he likes the new Administration. "I saw mostly second-term Bush," Saakashvili laments: the Bush that was too distracted to pay attention. President Obama has essentially the same policies, but now "it's much better implementation."

### "The Next Dubai"

SAKASHVILI, 41, IS THE SON OF INTELLECTUALS, his father a doctor, his mother a professor. In 1993 he got his first prolonged taste of the U.S. when he won a fellowship to study law at Columbia. He lived in New York City and Washington for several years, passed the New York bar exam and worked in private practice before being summoned back to Georgia to be part of

**'I've been running it over and over again, what happened [at the start of the war]. But we had no choice.'**

—MIKHEIL SAKASHVILI,  
PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA

a movement of young reformers, many of whom had been living in the West, that would transform what had been until 1991 a republic of the Soviet Union.

Saakashvili is fond of saying his time in the U.S. taught him about liberty and idealism. For me, he had a more prosaic story, about the time he and his in-laws were chased by hoodlums near his apartment on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. He has an appreciation not just for America but also for American-style politics, possessing all the tools of a seasoned American pol: consultants, pollsters and genuine enthusiasm for working a crowd.

Unlike many Georgians, Saakashvili doesn't smoke. He drinks, but less than those around him. He is almost compulsively social and enjoys the company of beautiful women. On the wall of his office is a series of photos of him picking up the Georgian-born British pop star Katie Melua, 25, like a newlywed crossing the threshold. More than anything, though, Saakashvili is restless. His jitters can at times make him seem like an overgrown adolescent. Cameras caught him chewing nervously on his tie during last August's war, a gesture he has been careful

not to repeat. In my presence, he caught himself several times gnawing, ever so slightly, on the corner of a handkerchief. But these tics are a small price to pay for his biggest asset: his tremendous, limitless energy. Columbia's Mitchell calls it "government by adrenaline." Saakashvili is addicted to quick, dramatic acts of leadership. Particularly in the early years, he got results. One example: when he came to power, Georgia's traffic police were notorious bribe seekers. So he fired every one of them and hired an entirely new, clean police force.

After last year's war, with his military routed, Saakashvili latched on to development as a sort of defense guarantee: "It's very uncomfortable to bomb skyscrapers. It looks very, very ugly," he said. He spends 80% of his time looking for investors, cooking up projects and cheerleading for the Georgian economy.

His current obsession is the town of Batumi, which is developing at a speed that would make China blush. John Steinbeck called Batumi a "very pleasant little tropical city" after a 1948 visit there, but he would not recognize it now. There's a water park and countless neon-lit fountains that burble in sync with songs like "Pretty Woman" and "Somewhere over the Rainbow." The town centerpiece is a long promenade with 800 palm trees, sleek benches designed in Valencia, Spain, and an artificial river lit neon blue. Working through the night, workers built the place in three months. Construction unions, Saakashvili joked, would come to Georgia only "when everything is already built." One of the renovated plazas will host a giant civic New Year's Eve concert featuring Julio Iglesias, whom Saakashvili decided to hire for just over \$1 million. While going over blueprints with his Spanish architects, Saakashvili told me he likes buildings that are "original, crazy and brave." He said Batumi could be "the next Dubai." He then produced a set of plans for the drab 2014 Olympic Village that the Russians are building just down the coast in Sochi, so everyone could have a laugh at the dullness of his enemy's architects.

### Troubles at Home

SAKASHVILI'S GRAND PLANS DON'T IMPRESS his opponents. They think that he—like most other leaders in this part of the world—is power-mad. The media and judiciary still aren't nearly independent enough. The opposition, whom Vice Prime Minister Temuri Yakobashvili dismissed as "losers, naifs and traitors," says it is persecuted for its dissent. "This energy and force [Saakashvili] has inside is a rare quality," says Sozar Subari, who was until re-



cently Georgia's public defender. "But unfortunately, he used this to strengthen autocracy, not democracy."

Saakashvili has faced two major challenges to his leadership. In November 2007, his riot police responded to anti-government demonstrators by beating them, arresting their leaders and shutting down two television stations. In April, the opposition took to the streets again to call for his resignation. But this time, Saakashvili was restrained. He let the protesters shut down the streets of the capital. Georgians grew tired of the inconvenience, and eventually everyone went home. Many opposition figures say they won't try to force him to resign before his term ends in 2013. Even Khidasheli, an ardent critic



**Developer in chief**  
Saakashvili, at a groundbreaking ceremony in May, has been criticized for his heavy-handed rule

of the President, assured me, "We will not allow a revolution."

This means that the future of Georgia once again rests almost entirely on the balance between Saakashvili's good and bad impulses. The case of Irakli Alasania, Georgia's former U.N. ambassador and the country's most credible opposition figure, may provide insight into which side of the President prevails. Several weeks before he officially made the announcement, Alasania told me he was planning to run next spring for mayor of Tbilisi, with the former public defender Subari on his ticket. Allowing such well-respected statesmen to run a free campaign would instantly legitimize the idea of multiparty democracy in Georgia. It would also set

the stage for something many critics still doubt Saakashvili can deliver: a credible presidential election in 2013, followed by a peaceful transfer of power.

The strength of Georgia's democracy is not a small thing; it is the only thing. If a pro-Western liberal democracy can thrive on Russia's southern border, other struggling former Soviet republics might follow suit. And since the Caucasus region is a key route for getting Central Asian oil and gas to Western markets without going through Russia, Georgia could help lessen the West's dependence on Russian energy. But first Georgia needs to become stable, peaceful and prosperous. History will judge Saakashvili, and all his enthusiasms, on whether or not he can make that happen. ■

# In Search of a Breakthrough

Medical advances in the detection and treatment of breast cancer are boosting survival rates and hope for the future.



There was nothing particularly remarkable about the warm September afternoon in 2006 when Nicole Vazquez discovered she had breast cancer. While talking to a colleague at work, the then-34-year-old Dallas resident crossed her arms. As her hand brushed along the side of her left breast, she felt a lump. "I really didn't think much of it," she recalls. "I was under 40, and there was no history of breast cancer in my family."

But a mammogram, sonogram and subsequent biopsy showed that the tumor was malignant. After discussions with her doctors, Vazquez agreed that the best course of action was chemotherapy to shrink the tumor, surgery to remove her left breast and 33 days of radiation. She has been cancer-free since and went on to have breast reconstructive surgery at the end of 2007. "If you could have a positive breast cancer experience, I had it," Vazquez says. "My doctors were open, honest and very knowledgeable, and they truly cared about me."

Stories like Vazquez's were once rare. But medical breakthroughs in early detection and treatment—as well as better awareness of the disease and support for women diagnosed with it—are making success stories more common. Today, the five-year survival rate for breast cancer when caught early is 98%, compared with 74% in 1982. There are 2.5 million breast cancer survivors in the U.S. today, the country's largest group of cancer survivors.

Despite the upbeat statistics, breast cancer remains a deadly disease. Roughly 192,000 women will be diagnosed with it in 2009, and an estimated 40,170 will die from breast

cancer this year. One in eight women will battle the disease in her lifetime. Even in the face of such grim numbers, Dr. Eric Winer, chief scientific adviser for Susan G. Komen for the Cure, the largest grassroots network of breast cancer survivors, is pleased with the progress and optimistic about the future. "There are women being successfully treated today that could not have been 10 or 15 years ago because we didn't know as much," he says. "The next 10 to 20 years will be amazing in cancer treatment."

One of the biggest research breakthroughs of the last decade is the understanding that breast cancer is not a single disease. "A revolution in genetics research as well as a careful look at old clinical trials has shown that there are sub-classes of breast cancer that need to be treated differently," says Winer. This realization about what he calls the "personality of the cancer" is having a profound effect on the kinds of drugs being developed and understanding which tumors respond best to each.

There's also a better grasp on prevention, says Nancy Brinker, founder of Susan G. Komen for the Cure. "Smoking, obesity and drinking to excess all lead to poor health," she says, "and poor health can lead to the development of many diseases, cancer included." A continued focus on personal responsibility for good health, coupled with expediency in bringing promising drugs and therapies to market sooner, will bring about the next wave of breakthroughs in battling breast cancer, says Brinker, adding, "I feel we're going to see more progress in the next decade than any other decade so far."

—Susan Caminiti





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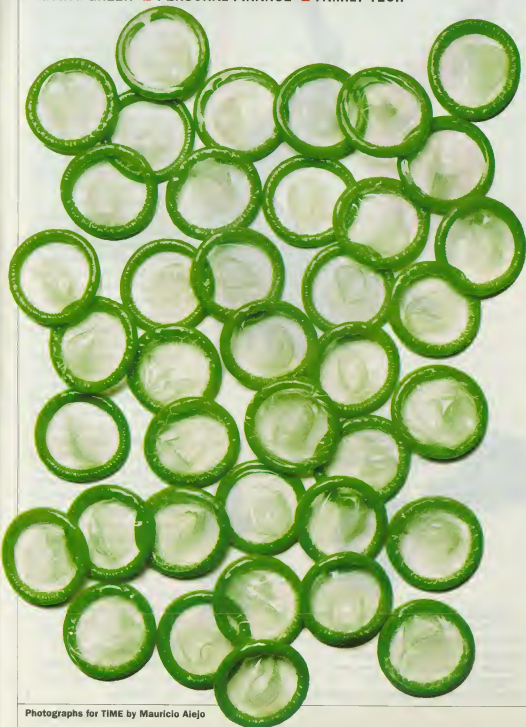


He was not an employer but a huckster who stole personal data from dozens of job seekers

PERSONAL FINANCE, PAGE 53

# Life

GOING GREEN ■ PERSONAL FINANCE ■ FAMILY TECH



## GOING GREEN

### Sex and the Eco-City.

Look out, petroleum jelly. Getting it on is getting greener

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

IN MANY WAYS, CHOOSING A sex toy is not unlike buying a car. Walk into most adult shops, and the new-car smell is undeniable. Salespeople tout motor speed and durability. And then there are emissions to consider.

That's carbon emissions, of course. As the green movement makes its way into the bedroom, low lighting is a must—to conserve electricity—but so are vegan condoms, organic lubricants and hand-cranked vibrators.

Another big enviro-sex trend: birth control that's au naturel. Like all good Catholics, my husband and I had to attend church-run marriage prep before we tied the knot last year. I was surprised, however, during the hard sell on natural family-planning (NFP), that this updated version of the rhythm method was being

advertised not only as morally correct but also as "organic" and "green." I was even more surprised when I found out that some of the most popular instructors of NFP—known in secular circles as the Fertility Awareness Method—are non-Catholics who praise it as a means of avoiding both ingesting chemicals and excreting them into rivers and streams.

Nikki Walker, 35, an actress in New York City, stopped taking the Pill because of concerns about the effects of excess estrogen on her body and the environment. "I do yoga every day and eat vegetarian," she says. "Why wouldn't I go green in this area of my life?"

Walker recently attended her first Tupperware-style pleasure party, thrown by Oregon-based Earth Erotics, where the goods for sale included organic massage oils and whips made of recycled inner tubes. At a time when Americans are just getting used to prime-time ads for Trojan and KY, eco-consumers are learning that most of the personal lubricants in the U.S.—drugstores sold \$82 million worth of them last year—contain chemicals found in oven cleaner and antifreeze.

"Our taboos prevent us from having the same consumer-safety conversations that are commonplace when you're making a toothbrush, sneaker or baby bottle," says Ethan Imboden, founder of Ethmyjane, a luxury adult-toy maker based in San Francisco. This bashfulness is not helped by the fact that the adult-novelty industry is largely unregulated. "Manufacturers can use whatever they want," says Imboden. "And they do."

Case in point: that new-car smell. It may connote nice and clean, but the odor comes from phthalates, which are used to soften plastics in many products, including some sex toys. Like bisphenol A, these compounds are endocrine inhibitors that some studies have linked to premature puberty in girls and low sperm production in boys. Europe and Cali-

## Green Between the Sheets. A look at eco-friendly offerings



**1** Nonleather whips are cruelty-free (to cows, that is). Earth Erotics' whips, top right, are made from recycled inner tubes. **2** Neoprene handcuffs are also pro-cow. **3** Vegan condoms remove dairy protein from latex. **4** Organic lubricant, unlike many synthetics, lacks chemicals found in antifreeze

fornia have already banned certain phthalates.

The search for phthalate-free alternatives helps explain the increase in sales of sex toys made of such materials as stainless steel, mahogany—yes, you read that correctly—and glass. Babeland, a sex shop with locations in Seattle and New York City, saw sales of a stainless-steel toy triple from 2007 to 2008. Sales of glass models rose 85% in the same period. Says Babeland co-founder Claire Cavanah: "People want high-quality, renewable materials that they know will last." (And in the case of Pyrex toys, that they know can be safely warmed in the microwave.)

Babeland sells four times as much of Good Clean Love's organic lubricant as it does of a national synthetic brand. "It just goes to show that if they have choices, customers pick more eco-friendly and natural options," Cavanah says.

The Roman Catholic Church is catching on to the organic trend. "People pay \$32 for eye cream because they're told it is good for them and the planet," says Jessica Marie Smith, who repackaged the NFP program at the diocese of Madison, Wis. "We figured we could do the same with NFP."

NFP detects ovulation by monitoring a woman's temperature and the amount of cervical mucus. But this process is not 100% accurate. And several studies on climate change note that the best way to protect the planet is to have fewer children. "Around the world, more than 40% of pregnancies are unintended, and full access to birth control is still unmet," says Jim Daniels, Trojan's vice president for marketing. "Meeting that unmet need would translate into billions of tons of carbon dioxide saved."

To that end, Trojan makes latex condoms as well as ones made of biodegradable lambskin. Other brands offer a vegan variety that replaces the dairy protein in latex condoms with cocoa powder. And no, they don't all taste like chocolate.

## Job-Search Scams. As the recession has more people hunting for work, crooks are setting online traps



### SMART MOVES

#### DO

Google the hiring firm. If all you find are job postings, that's a bad sign

#### DON'T

Pay anyone to help you collect unemployment benefits

#### DO

Meet the hirer in person before providing your Social Security number

#### DON'T

Hand over your bank-account info before you've started working

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

FOR YEARS, RICHARD PIERRE found potential new hires on popular job-search websites through postings for positions like a high-paying gig as a programmer-analyst in Toronto. The problem: he was not an employer but a huckster who stole personal information from dozens of job seekers.

The Ottawa police finally busted Pierre, who in September pleaded guilty to fraudulently opening 44 credit-card accounts and racking up some \$300,000 in charges. But countless other crooks like him are still out there. "When the economy is down, scammers take advantage of people who are anxious about their financial position," says Karen Hobbs, an attorney with the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). A growing area of concern: unemployment-insurance fraud. Make a note now that you should never

have to pay anybody to collect unemployment benefits.

The FTC has been cracking down on job scammers, shuttering firms like Job Safety USA, a front company that targeted people seeking maintenance and cleaning work. The company's ads claimed that for \$98, Job Safety would send a credential called a "certificate registration number" and then help the registrant find a job. But the credential was bogus, and job placement allegedly never happened.

So how can you spot a scam? Certain frauds are easier to sniff out than others. A lot seems wrong with an ad that not only says you can earn \$500 in two days but also urges you to "make money with every means you can get your hand on" and asks for "Status Of Job You Into."

If a company or recruiter asks for your bank-account or credit-card number, that is a huge warning sign. True,

plenty of firms use bank information for direct-deposit paychecks—but that happens after you're hired.

Another big eyebrow raiser is a posting that includes an e-mail address with a domain like Gmail, Hotmail, Yahoo! or Rediffmail (an Indian outfit). Most legitimate hirers have an e-mail address from their company.

Susan Joyce, publisher of employment portal Job-Hunt.org, tries to weed out fake jobs, first by Googling the hiring firm. "If all you find are other job postings on other job boards, that's a red flag," she says. She also searches for a corporate phone number on a site like Hoovers.com and calls to make sure the opening is legit. That simple process leads her to toss about a third of the postings she receives.

The thing to be most careful about is handing over your Social Security number. There might be a legitimate reason for a company to ask for that information—to do a background check, say—but you should try to withhold it (and your date of birth) until after an in-person meeting.

Wary job hunters have been known to do battle with corporate recruiters on this point. But if you've been out of work for months and are starting to panic, you might be far from enthusiastic about the possibility of antagonizing a prospective employer. Still, it's worth at least a call to the human-resources department to make sure the policy is etched in stone. In the end, you're just trying to be thorough. And what employer wouldn't want that?



# Projecting a Better Image

Why buy a gargantuan TV when you can get a high-definition projector for less than \$1,000?

ONE DAY NOT TOO LONG AGO, a boxed DVD set of the 1980s yuppie-hit TV show *thirtysomething* showed up in the mail. My wife, who was suffering a bout of nostalgia, had bought it, I guess, as a way to punish my oldest two daughters, who were heading off to college. She claimed she wanted to show them what life was like when they were born.

The more troubling issue was that she wanted us to watch it as a family. Have I ever mentioned that I am the only male (besides my fat brown Lab, Otto) among four females in my nuclear family? While Otto and I are adored and tolerated in pretty much the same way, he can always amuse himself during these estrogenic family nights by sleeping in a corner or quietly licking himself. I cannot get away with that, though I have tried. What I needed was a big dose of technology to get me through this ordeal.

Luckily, at around that time, Optoma—a company that makes digital projectors—had just come out with the first high-definition projector to hit the market for less than \$1,000. These things used to cost many thousands of dollars and were found in only the highest-end home theaters. But with the Optoma HD20 (\$999) and subsequent offerings from competitors, the middle market can now afford super home-theater projection too. In fact, with all these pocket-size microprojectors flooding the lower end of the market, it's



practically raining projectors these days.

The HD20 weighs 6.4 lb. and is not especially portable. Roughly the size of one of the last generation of VHS players, it is recommended for projections as large as 10 ft. as measured along the diagonal. (It can throw an image as big as 25 ft. across, but it would look considerably dimmer.) Optoma also recommends using a projector screen, and I can attest that the image looked way better on the 80-inch they lent me—a decent foldable one costs

**I plugged in my portable PC speakers and subwoofer and—voilà!—home theater in a box**

\$399—than it did on the wall.

I set up the projector on a coffee table about 10 ft. from the screen and connected it to my laptop's DVD player. (This required adapter cables that cost about \$50.) To round out my ad hoc system, I plugged into my laptop the portable PC speakers and subwoofer (\$25 from Logitech) I use with my desktop computer and—voilà!—home theater in a box.

The night went much better than I expected. While the video looked flawless, my daughters quickly lost interest in *thirtysomething's* nattering, self-obsessed yuppies and started to think about other tricks the Optoma could perform. Soon we had YouTube up there, and at about the time my beloved slunk off to bed, I screened my idea of a family movie: *The Big Lebowski*. Even Otto woke up for that.



## Primo projectors

### 1 Optoma HD20

First digital HD projector under \$1,000 (\$999)

### 2 Nikon

Coolpix \$1000pj


Digital camera with built-in projector (\$429)

### 3 3M MPPro120

Palm-size projector with a battery that can last through a two-hour movie (\$385)

### 4 Logic Bolt Cell Phone

First phone with built-in projector (\$100, with contract)



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Great American  
OPPORTUNITIES

# Arts

MOVIES MUSIC

TELEVISION SHORT LIST



## MOVIES

**Let the Wild Rumpus Start!** With subtlety and sympathy, Spike Jonze brings Maurice Sendak's classic kids' book to life

BY MARY POLS

THE 338-WORD STORY OF MAX—LAST NAME unknown, emotional state tumultuous, willingness to obey dubious—has been a bedtime favorite of wild things everywhere (and their parents) since not long after its 1963 publication. That makes nearly five decades' worth of fans, many of whom have been harboring the disquieting fear that the universality of Maurice Sendak's Max,

who so exquisitely embodies the inherent storminess of all small beings, would be marred by Spike Jonze's cinematic adaptation of *Where the Wild Things Are*.

This is a reasonable qualm, but as Max might say, "Now stop!" Jonze, chronicler of uncertain adulthood in *Being John Malkovich* and *Adaptation*, has done a masterly job of bringing Sendak's work to the screen. He has broken one Hollywood doctrine: the notion that children's cinema is best devised

for miniature couch potatoes who require a steady stream of laughs, action sequences and references to flatulence. Even the best American children's movies, like those made by Pixar, embed their heartfelt messages in what are fundamentally entertainments. The mysterious emotional turmoil and, let's face it, weirdness that every parent

**King of the beasts** Max (*Max Records*) hitches a ride with Carol (voiced by James Gandolfini)

deals with on a daily basis can be found in the films of the great Japanese director Hayao Miyazaki but seem to have been deemed off-limits in America. The beauty of *Where the Wild Things Are* is that for all its fantastical elements, it's a work of realism, an exploration of mood and emotion. Like Sendak's book, which on initial publication was considered too edgy and creepy by some critics and libraries, the movie is dark, but it is perhaps even more richly cathartic.

What makes Sendak's book so compelling is its grounding effect: Max has a tantrum and in a flight of fancy visits his wild side, but he is pulled back by a belief in parental love to a supper "still hot," balancing the seesaw of fear and comfort. In expanding the story, Jonze (with co-writer Dave Eggers) invents just enough of Max's home life to convey the forces behind his disobedience. The parents of 9-year-old Max (played by Max Records, whose name and performance suggest he was born for this role) have split up, and his mother (the gloriously sensitive Catherine Keener) is struggling to keep their household together while trying to meet her own needs. (She has a new boyfriend, played by Mark Ruffalo.) Max also has a sister, a teenager named Claire (Pepita Emmerichs), whose desire to move on from childhood—illustrated in swift, vivid brushstrokes—leaves him lonely and bewildered. Not since *You Can Count on Me* has the potential for heartbreak in sibling love been rendered so eloquently.

We also glimpse Max at school, where, slumped over in classic bored-boy pose, he hears from his teacher that the sun, like all other things, will die. As Max's eyes widen

## The beauty of the film is that for all its fantastical elements, it's a work of realism, an exploration of mood and emotion

almost imperceptibly, we realize that he is paying attention and is horrified. Jonze keeps the moment quiet, but it is one more piece in the puzzle of existential angst that drives Max to that fateful eruption with his mother. Here, instead of being sent to his room, he flees the house and goes racing through the neighborhood, baying like a wolf. He finds a boat and sets sail, finally arriving in the land of the wild things.

This is where Jonze unleashes his considerable creativity. The beasts are recognizable from Sendak's pages, but Jonze gives them names and distinct personalities that connect to aspects of Max's psyche and to the people he loves. (Freud would adore this movie.) They are vast, feathered, horned, clawed, beaked and definitely wild—irrational and dangerous, even when showing affection—and Jonze uses their threatening bulk as well as their capacity for cruelty to remind us that Max's taming of them is only temporary. For any child, it is near impossible to stay king of anything, even in fantasy.

James Gandolfini voices Carol, who most closely represents Max. Carol is a builder. He longs to create worlds, but as soon as their perfection falters in any way, he wants to tear them all down. "I like the way you destroy things," he tells Max

when they first meet. It's a haunting performance, full of need and anger.

Lauren Ambrose voices KW, who, like Max's sister, is being pulled away by new friends. (When we finally lay eyes on them, it's the movie's closest thing to a joke.) She gives Max the tenderness and protection he wants from his sister, while helping him understand how oppressive his own love can be. The others include a goat-beast (Paul Dano), who represents Max's rage and impotence; a somewhat wise bird-beast (Chris Cooper), probably the embodiment of Max's unseen father; the petty, devious Judith (Catherine O'Hara); and her gentle but helpless mate Ira (Forest Whitaker). Animation would have been a far easier choice here, but Jonze's instinct toward verisimilitude was astute. By setting his story in real landscapes, he respects and heightens the peculiarity and tension of Max's experience, whether he's shivering in his wet wolf suit or running wild with the beasts in the forest.

Jonze's biggest challenge lies in sustaining the movie's forward momentum during Max's time with the wild things. At a certain point, I felt I'd learned enough and was ready to go home to Keener's anchoring presence. It's not that Jonze is overindulgent; it's that he's so thoroughly devoted to exploring Max's pain and joys, sometimes to the detriment of narrative. But I'll let my own child make the call on whether it's too long. I'm taking him, although I'd doubted I would, having expected the hipster's Max. But this is a Max for everyone, for all the wild things and those who love and respect them. There was nothing to fear after all. ■

## Adaptation. Max and the wild things, on page and screen

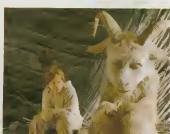
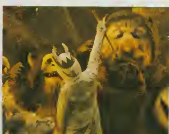
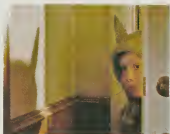
### THE BOOK

In Sendak's Caldecott Medal winner, Max, banished to his room, travels to a distant land and tames the terrible wild things



### THE MOVIE

Max in his wolf suit, check. Taming of wild things, check. The loneliness of being king—most definitely, check





Did you hear that? Featherston and Sloat sweat out another rough night

## MOVIES

# A Creepy Sensation. How *Paranormal Activity*—a smart, scary, tiny film—became a blockbuster

BY RICHARD CORLISS

NOT LONG AGO, STEVEN SPIELBERG TOOK home a DVD of an unreleased movie that his company, DreamWorks, had acquired, planning to remake it with A-list stars. He sat down to watch *Paranormal Activity*, a no-budget thriller about a couple who suspect that restless spirits have invaded their house. When the picture was over, Spielberg went to the adjacent bathroom and found that the door was inexplicably locked. He thought the DVD was haunted!

O.K., that sounds more like the plot of *The Ring*, a Japanese horror film that DreamWorks actually did remake in 2002. But it's just one of the many curious phenomena attending *Paranormal Activity*. Shot in a week in 2006 by Israeli-born video-game designer Oren Peli for a ridiculously low \$11,000, the movie is now the talk of fan-boy blogs, Twitter and *tout* Hollywood. Not since *The Blair Witch Project* a decade ago has a movie come from nowhere, received a crucial spike from the Internet and become the film people have to see—if they dare.

Like *Blair Witch*, *Paranormal Activity* presents itself as found footage from a video experiment gone awry. Katie Featherston and Micah Sloat (the actors use their real names) sense strange vibrations soon after Katie moves into Micah's San Diego tract house. Micah totes around a video camera

to record whatever happens and props the camera in the couple's bedroom while they sleep. That's it: two main characters, one house and a very slow fuse to a creepy payoff. No elaborate splatter effects either. Just a door moving a few inches... a shadow slithering across the wall... the ripple of an unseen form under the bedsheets.

There must be thousands of horror movies made each year in people's homes—and in most years, none of them make it out of the garage. But *Paranormal Activity* benefited from a marketing campaign that is an exemplar of the huckster's art. Paramount Pictures capily opened *PA* as a midnight movie in 13 college towns on two early-autumn weekends. The screenings quickly sold out, sparking avid word of mouth and the all-important word of thumb. Paramount then told fans the movie would get a wide release only if a million "demands" were logged on the *PA* website. That took two weeks. With minimal expenditure and much ingenuity, the studio had a viral hit even before the movie

**That's it: two main characters, one house that may be haunted and a very slow fuse to a creepy payoff**

opened the weekend of Oct. 9–11 on 160 screens. There it earned \$7.9 million, setting a record for per-screen average. Now it's in 800 theaters, and most of America can see what the screaming's about.

There are plenty of well-marketed movies, but *Paranormal Activity* is more than just a business-school case study. It's a smartly revisionist suspense film. Peli, 39, follows a less-is-more strategy that suggests skills beyond mere frugality. He knows that waiting for the big, scary jolt does far more damage to the viewer's nervous system than receiving it. And he keeps the audience in his grip by never leaving the couple's haunted property. The claustrophobia is infectious: Katie and Micah can't escape, and neither can we.

Gore scenes in splatter movies carry a sadistic punch, but they're outside the average moviegoer's experience, and when they end, so does the tension. Peli wants to convey relentless dread, a feeling we're all familiar with. To that anxiety, *PA* lends not the shock of rotting flesh but artful, spectral shivers. And even at the end, it refuses to let viewers off the hook. Instead, it leaves them hanging, challenging them to laugh in relief that the 86-minute ordeal is over.

Late arrivals to the phenomenon may think the movie is not so scary. (Too much word of mouth can inflate expectations.) But as they sit in the theater, they should take some pleasure in noticing how the folks nearby are preparing to be scared. And that's the most positive lesson of *Paranormal Activity*. Movies can still be a communal experience, where a thousand people sit as one in the dark, as fretful and enthralled as a child hearing a bedtime story, wondering, fearing: What happens next? ■





**Four Kings** From left, Jared, Caleb, Matthew and Nathan Followill

## MUSIC

# Innocent Horndogs. Kings of Leon are America's hottest rock band, and sex is their weapon of choice

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

THERE ARE SO MANY IMPLAUSIBLE THINGS about Nashville's Kings of Leon that the band's implausible lyrics are often overlooked. But let's start there, because more than any other contemporary rock act, Kings of Leon write in the key of crazy. "Sex on Fire," the group's first major hit, has a chorus that goes, "You, your sex is on fire/ Consumed with what's to transpire"—a cheesy come-on followed by the warmth of legalese. The Kings' songbook also includes "Pistol of Fire" ("It's gonna tickle/ You're gonna giggle"), "Soft" ("I'd pop myself in your body/ I'd come into your party, but I'm soft") and numerous other allusions to singer Caleb Followill's fiery soft sex pistol.

These Cinemax-quality lyrics are sung in the anguished tone of radio-friendly modern rock over some pretty excellent guitar riffs. It's a recipe that works, at least commercially; a year after the release of their fourth album, *Only by the Night*, Kings of Leon have chugged past the million-sales mark and boast the No. 1 song on Top 40 radio ("Use Somebody"). They also have the best band-creation story in memory. These facts are not unrelated.

The Followill brothers—Caleb (vocals, rhythm guitar), Nathan (drums) and Jared (bass)—were raised in a purple



**Youth & Young Manhood**  
(2003) *Pleasing amateurishness, like a bar band let loose*



**Aha Shake Heartbreak** (2005)  
*Confident Southern boogie plus sex*



**Because of the Times** (2007)  
*Sound moves beyond Dixie; theme remains the same*



**Only by the Night** (2008)  
*Anthemic grunge that spawns hits—and a few giggles*

Oldsmobile driven by their father Leon, a traveling Pentecostal minister. Apparently they were good and pure Southern boys who abstained from all the fun stuff until 1997, when their parents divorced, Leon left the church, and the mostly homeschooled, God-fearing sons went tumbling into the temptations of sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll. The group's first release, the EP *Holy Roller Novocaine*, came out in 2003, shortly after the brothers grabbed cousin Matthew (guitar) from Mississippi and everyone learned how to play his instrument.

It's a preposterously good bio—so good that a European journalist took cotton swabs to an interview in an attempt to verify that the brothers actually share DNA. But as awful as it must have been to live through, it's the family schism that allows Kings of Leon to get away with lyrical murder. Plenty of bands sing about sex, but Kings of Leon use their history to suggest that sex eases the burden of their shattered innocence, and they make music about it to reinforce their fraternal connection. They're aching emotional savants with deep wounds that require constant, uh, licking. They've made rock 'n' roll their new savior, and what music fan would argue with the logic of that?

A significant part of Kings of Leon's appeal is that the band never lets on whether it's working a con. The Kings' story is true, but with their curious facial hair, dolorous gazes and tattered designer clothes, the Followills look like Confederate soldiers under the command of General Calvin Klein. This would suggest a con. At the same time, they're capable of songs that really do make them sound like savants. The best of these is "Taper Jean Girl," from 2005's *Aha Shake Heartbreak*. Caleb is mostly mumbling Dixie, but with a live-wire sexuality and unpredictability that recalls the young Mick Jagger. Meanwhile, there are a muscular bass, ferocious drums and a tremolo guitar flying around, generating a musical storm. The song taps into ancient urges and feels as if it were made up on the spot.

*Only by the Night* is more polished than Kings of Leon's previous work; it sounds like a band trying to fill stadiums, which happens to a lot of groups after stints opening for U2. But the Kings' mix of silly sex and deathly seriousness remains front and center, offering itself up to be mocked and—just often enough to make them interesting—believed. ■



## TELEVISION

# Hyper Animation. Seth MacFarlane is the voice of Fox comedy, but can his toons transcend their one-liners?

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

FOX, NEVER ONE FOR VERBAL RESTRAINT, calls its hit Sunday-night cartoon block Animation Domination. And there is one animator who dominates it: Seth MacFarlane, the writer-producer-voice actor who calls the toons on three of the four shows. It's a turnaround for MacFarlane; Fox canceled his *Family Guy* in 2002, then brought it back after it proved hugely popular on DVD. In 2005, Fox added MacFarlane's *American Dad*, a war-on-terrorism-era CIA spoof. This fall came *The Cleveland Show*, TV's unlikeliest spin-off since *The Ropers*, focused on *Family Guy* bit character Cleveland Brown. For 30 minutes a week, MacFarlane has the loudest megaphone on TV. Is he saying anything with it?

The trouble with *Family Guy* is that it seems to want to say everything. It's *The Simpsons* on Red Bull, with a dysfunctional family—the Griffins of Quahog, R.I.—but twice the outrageousness and thrice the pace. Its signature move is to cut away from a story line for a non sequitur gag (a pop-culture parody, a celebrity spoof, a *Star Wars* reference). *The Simpsons* is a satire, but it's rooted in its family. *Family Guy* is less a half-hour narrative about characters than a delivery system for unconnected jokes the writers can't bear to part with.

The series is often hilarious; there are so many jokes, it is statistically impossible for it not to be. It has a fantastic sense of show-

manship (MacFarlane, who voices dad Peter and others, loves writing musical numbers to show off his Broadway side) but suffers from comic ADHD. A send-up of *Family Guy* on *South Park* revealed it to be written by manatees picking colored balls with random joke topics inscribed on them.

But the show's fans love the randomness (a spoof of the sci-fi series *Sliders*). This season's premiere was almost self-parody: evil tot Stewie invents a dimension-travel device and takes talking dog Brian (the best-developed "person" on the show) to a series of parallel universes, where we see them drawn as Disney characters, *Washington Post* cartoons and so on. The manatees were working overtime.

*The Cleveland Show* was meant to be a kinder, gentler *Family Guy*. The Griffins' African-American neighbor Cleveland returns to his hometown, where he marries his high school sweetheart. The pilot showed promise: Cleveland, a good-hearted sad sack, is sweeter and more sympathetic than Peter, and he has actual motivations—starting his life over and connecting with his awkward son and two stepkids. But *Cleveland* pretty quickly became *Family Guy* II, with similar characters and dynamics (Cleveland's toddler stepson Rallo is essentially Black Stewie) and the same taste for quick-fire cutaway jokes and pop-culture references (including self-conscious ones about white writers making sitcoms about black people).

MacFarlane's best show, *American Dad*, is also his lowest rated—maybe because it isn't simply a remake of *Family Guy*. Yes, its protagonist, CIA agent Stan Smith, is a nuclear-family patriarch. And where *Family Guy* has a talking dog and *Cleveland* a talking bear, *Dad* has both a talking alien (a show-tune-obsessed card with a voice like Paul Lynde's) and a talking goldfish.

But next to the frenzied *Family Guy* and *Cleveland*, *Dad* is practically *Mad Men*. What makes *Dad* good isn't its political point of view. (MacFarlane, whose liberalism sometimes surfaces on *Family Guy*, uses Stan to send up post-9/11 jingoism.) It's that the show has a point of view at

## What makes American Dad good isn't its political point of view. It's that the show has a point of view at all

all. It's about something—satirizing the war on terrorism—and it invests time in its characters without ping-ponging between gags. It's still outrageous: the season premiere had Stan take nerdy son Steve to a Vietnam War re-enactment to toughen him up. (Sending up Vietnam-flick clichés, it played "Fortunate Son" over Viet Cong paintball ambushes.) But by focusing on father and son trying to connect, the episode also ended up touching and real.

It's too bad the same can't be said of MacFarlane's other shows. Sitcoms like *The Office* (and, still, *The Simpsons*) prove that the best comedies aren't always those with the most jokes per minute. MacFarlane has the talent to be in their league. But he needs to control his gag reflex. ■

**The Cleveland Show**  
An unlikely (but successful) spin-off

**Family Guy**  
MacFarlane's rude, frenetic original

**MacFarlane**  
Fox's Sunday-cartoon king of the hill

**American Dad**  
Family Guy's undersung sibling





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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



## 1 TELEVISION Monty Python: Almost the Truth (The Lawyer's Cut)

They were something completely different. IFC's six-part documentary (nightly, beginning Oct. 18) details how the troupe's surreal, cerebral sketches upended British comedy and sedate BBC culture. For students and fans of comedy, this perceptive 40th-anniversary tribute is the holy grail.

## 2 BOOK Dracula: The Un-Dead

This sequel was co-written by Bram Stoker's great-grandnephew Dacre, and against all odds it's good, sexy, bloody, pulpy fun. It picks up 25 years after Dracula's "death," when the original fangster is starting to show signs of life again. Or unlfe. Whatever.

## 3 APP Bravo Gustavo

Waving your iPhone around like a maniac will not make you more cultured. But this app from the Los Angeles Philharmonic—named for conductor Gustavo Dudamel—does give you a sense of the challenge of keeping an orchestra unified. And make you look ridiculous.

## 4 DVD It's Garry Shandling's Show

In this 1986-90 series, Shandling was the Penn & Teller of sitcoms: he deconstructed the magic, talking to viewers to let them in on the joke. (Even the theme song was about writing a theme song.) As self-referential comedies went, you never meta better one.

## 5 BOOK Farber on Film

Billed as Manny Farber's "complete film writings," it isn't; his 1949 stint at *TIME* is missing. But Robert Polito's Library of America edition offers 1,000 pages of startling perceptions from a one-of-a-kind critic. An essential book for any lover of gnarly movies and great writing.



## Jennifer Beals' Short List

Beals, who bared her shoulder so memorably as the heroine of the 1983 movie *Flashdance*, recently starred in the Showtime series *The L Word* and has a recurring guest role on Fox's *Lie to Me*. You can find the former Yale student in her free time listening to plays and professors or swooning over photos.

### Into the woods

I swooned in the presence of Alexandra Hedison's photographs of landscapes and trees in the Pacific Northwest. These pictures seem to address the notion "What is essential is invisible to the eye."

### Black and white

A friend gave me a copy of the book *I'm Down* by Mishna Wolff. I laughed out loud from the first page on. It's the memoir of a white girl living with her family in a black neighborhood, and her father believes he's black. A keenly perceptive, hilarious exploration of identity.

### Radio plays

L.A. Theatre Works on KPCC in Los Angeles is a great radio program on which you can hear plays (Orson's *Shadow* was one I found entertaining). It is remarkable how riveting this experience is, listening to plays without seeing them.

### Profs on the Web

I love the website AcademicEarth.org. You choose and can view in their entirety lectures from professors at universities across the country. Watching philosophy professor Shelly Kagan sit cross-legged on his desk at Yale and talk about the nature of death is a welcome remedy for ... well, life.

### In the cards

The Magus is a deck of tarot cards, each image of which is exquisite. I rely on them often, and if nothing else, they lead me to look at things from a different perspective.



Arts Online  
For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)

By Richard Corliss, Amy Leonard Gochner, Lew Grossman, James Poniewozik and Josh Tyrangiel



Nancy

# Gibbs

**Who Am I to You? Going by Ms. was once a statement. What does it tell us if it's now become a matter of convenience?**

JUST ABOUT EVERY DAY, I AM REMINDED THAT I HAVEN'T quite decided who I am. This morning I filled out the application for an International Driving Permit: circle Miss, Mrs. or Ms. You would think that by now, I would know which it is.

So I did an unscientific survey of married friends and found that none of them had a clue either. At work and out in the world, I'm Ms. Gibbs; at my daughters' school and the pediatrician, I am Mrs. May; to a few people who've known me since I was 2, Miss Nancy. Some friends use their husband's name, but their e-mail addresses are their maiden name, though that dainty phrase seems to have been banished in favor of *birth name*. I never understood why, from the perspective of fighting the patriarchy, it was somehow more liberated to bear your father's name than your husband's, especially since you choose your husband and inherit your father. In my case, each had an efficient, pronounceable name. How to choose?

America lacks a language dictator like the Académie Française, whose 40 members, known as *immortels*, determined that the commonly used *e-mail* may not be accepted into the French language while *un hamburger* may. The closest thing here may be the copydesk of the New York Times, a stickler for protocol; yet it too is uncertain of its semiotic bearings. When the Obamas called on the Bushes after the election, the newspaper reported that "Mrs. Bush" greeted the Obamas and "Ms. Bush wore a brown suit." During the campaign, Hillary Clinton was two women in a single sentence: "Nancy R. White, a retired school administrator in Bloomington, Ind., who cheered Mrs. Clinton on in primary rallies last spring, wishes Ms. Clinton would have stayed on Capitol Hill."

Silly as it is, this matters. Because words shape our world. Ms. is not some trendy modern social contraption. It was first spotted on the tombstone of Ms. Sarah Spooner in 1767, the handiwork, perhaps, of a frugal stone carver. For much of the 18th and 19th centuries, *Mrs.* and *Miss* were deployed to signal age, not marital status. Both were derived from *Mistress*, a word that, before it put on its feather boa and fishnet stockings, was the title for any woman with authority over a household.

As a handy form of address, Ms. found a foothold in the 1952 guidelines of the National Office Management

Association; they suggested using it to avoid any confusion over a woman's marital state. Twenty years later, when Ms. magazine was born, the editors explained, "Ms. is being adopted as a standard form of address by women who want to be recognized as individuals, rather than being identified by their relationship with a man." That same year, the U.S. Government Printing Office approved using Ms. in official government documents.

Such developments left the New York Times—which that year ran a story headlined IN SMALL TOWN, U.S.A., WOMEN'S LIBERATION IS EITHER A JOKE OR A BORE—in the awkward position of identifying Gloria Steinem as "Miss Steinem, editor of Ms. magazine." At that point, even the late language guru William Safire called for surrender. The Times refused on the grounds that the title had not passed into common usage. "We reconsider it from time to time," the editors mused, but "to our ear, it still sounds too contrived for news writing." Only in 1986 did the Times relent; the editors at Ms. sent flowers.

Evolutionary biologists teach that tying a man linguistically to his wife and children increases the odds that he'll stick around to help raise them, so using Ms. with your birth name theoretically carries some risk. Over the years, surveys have found that such women were seen as less feminine, worse mothers, more dynamic, less attractive and better educated. Hmm.

I've come to realize that the main reason I've never resolved my title is that it's become O.K. not to care. Whether my children's friends call me Ms. Gibbs or Mrs. May or any combination of the two, I view it as a sign of respect and don't worry about the particulars. My husband never remotely suggested that he was bothered by my not taking his name; in fact, he's accustomed to occasionally answering to Mr. Gibbs. My late father, a fine writer, thrilled to see that name in the pages of this magazine. All these identities are me: Ms. when I'm out slaying dragons, Mrs. when I'm in the company of those I love most, Miss when I want to stay home under the covers and daydream. Feminists a generation ago fought for the title and dreamed of Freedom and Choice and Opportunity; maybe the surest sign that they've won is not which title we pick, but that we can have them all at once.



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